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Elections and patterns of leadership in two Lanjia Saora villages of Guma Panchayat Samiti, Ganjam

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Introduction

The study reported in this paper was taken up in Ragedi and Tahajang villages of Guma Panchayat Samiti. They are medium sized villages predominantly inhabited by the Lanjia Saoras. Ragedi is one of the wards of Kalakota Grama Panchayat and Tahajang of Tarangada Grama Panchayat. The points of differences out number those of the similarities between these two villages.

The theme of the study in these two villages is related to the mode of election to the offices of Grama Panchayats and Panchayat Samiti and types of leadership which entered into the political arena of statutory local Government. The report also contains brief observations of election campaign and voting behaviour of the Saoras of Guma Block in general and of the study villages in particular during the last Lok Sabha election.

(Past Revenue Administration in Ganjam Maliahs)

When Ganjam was a part of Madras Presidency during British regime its highlands were divided into several hill tracts called Maliahs. The Maliahs were under the Divisional charge of the Principal, Senior and Special Assistant Agents and the Goomsur General Deputy Collector. The Maliahs which were under the Senior Assistant Agent consisted of Parlakimedi highlands with an area of 354 square miles and population of 52,309 according to the Census of 1891.

The Kimedi Maliahs (Parlakimedi, Pedda Kimedi and China Kimedi) were formerly ruled over by the chieftain of Parlakimedi. But a portion of these Maliahs was assigned to a younger branch of the ruling family in 1607. After about 169 years, that is, in 1776 this portion which was assigned to the younger branch of the Parlakimedi

chieftaincy was subdivided into two territories, one of which remained with the elder brother, whence the name Pedda Kimedi and the other portion fell to the share of the younger brother of the ruling family, whence the name China Kimedi. During British rule Parlakimedi Zamindar and other Kimedi Zamindars held their respective Maliahs under Sanad on service tenure. As stipulated in the Sanad the Kimedi Zamindars used to pay Nazarana annually to the British Government.

The Mallahs which were under the chieftain of Parlakimedi were subdivided into 11 minor territories called muttahs. They were:—

1. Gumma and Gyba
2. Serango
3. Ajayagada
4. Rayagada
5. Narayanpuram
6. Namanagada
7. Kamalasingi
8. Jirango
9. Gundahati
10. Koipuram
11. Labanyagada

Each of these Muttahs was under a Muttah-head called by various names such as Bissoyi and Patro. The headquarters of each of the Bissoyis was situated in a strategic position in the Muttah and served as a fort. The Bissoyis were established in a species of feudal tenure by the Parlakimedi chieftain for keeping the inhabitants (which were almost entirely Saoras) of their respective Muttahs under control. The British authorities designated the Bissoyis as the "Wardens of the Marches".

Each Bissoyi had maintained a number of Huddadars who represented the rank and file of the feudal order. The Huddadars were classified into five hierarchical orders. In order of hierarchy they are :

1. Dandasena
2. Majhi
3. Dalapati
4. Pradhan; and
5. Dalei

To assist the Huddadars in their work the Bissoyi had appointed a number of Paiks or Pesenias who formed the militia of the feudal order. Each Huddadar was allotted seven to eight Paiks who were not classified into any hierarchical order. The functions of Bissoyi, Huddadar and Paik are stated below.

Bissoyi

As stated, Bissoyi was the administrative head of his Muttah. His main work was to collect land revenue and house tax from the Saoras inhabiting his Muttah. He was also in charge of developmental programmes such as construction of roads, and digging of tanks and irrigation channels. For example, the Bissoyi of Gumma Muttah constructed the road from Parlakimedi town to Gumma village. Without Bissoyi's signature in the sale deeds no land transactions in the Muttah were valid. The Bissoyi was also responsible for settling inter and intra village disputes.

Huddadar

The work of Huddadar was to supervise the works of Paiks and to carry out Bissoyi's order. It was also his responsibility to look to the comforts of high-ranking persons and their entourage during their tour in his area

and arrange supplies required in their camps and porters to carry their luggage from place to place. He was also responsible for their safety while on tour in his area. He supervised the timely collection of Tanning (land tax collected in the shape of kind), sistu (land tax in cash), and tarnia (house tax) from the ryots. In payment for the services rendered the Huddadar was allotted two or three villages and the entire amount of tanning, sistu and tarnia collected from these villages was his service charges. He also enjoyed a share from the Peseni collected by the Paiks from the ryots towards their own remuneration. Besides these payments the Huddadar was given some Inam lands by the Bissoyi and these land were tax free.

Paik

The Paiks were the militia-men of the Bissoyi who assigned them to the Huddadar to help them in land revenue collection from the ryots. He also allotted two or three villages to each Paik for his maintenance. Besides military services the Paiks also served as the messengers to the Huddadars. Whenever any village failed to pay the tanning, tarnia and sistu in time (usually payment of these dues was made by the ryots in December-January) the Paiks visited these villages which are in arrears and served notice of the Bissoyi on the defaulters and arranged quick collections of the dues from them. If the Bissoyi had any message to be communicated to the Huddadars he got it done through the Paiks.

For the services rendered to the Bissoyi and Huddadars the Paiks were paid in kind at the rate of 10 manas of grain yearly per household from the villages which were allotted to them. The Paiks themselves collected their dues called Peseni from the ryots of the villages which were assigned to

them. In addition to Peseni the Paiks held Inam lands which were given by the Bissoyi for the services they rendered to him.

Gomanga

The lowest position in the echelon of the feudal order was that of Gomanga who served as the head of the village. There was a Gomanga in each village and his duties were to collect tarnia, tanning and sistu from the ryots of his village. The Bissoyi fixed the amount of these dues to be paid by each village and the village Gomanga collected the same and paid to the Paik who was in charge of his village. The Gomanga was also responsible for deciding disputes and maintaining law and order in his village. If the dispute was of complicated nature beyond his control he referred it to the Bissoyi who settled it with the help of his courtiers at the headquarters. The Gomanga's duty in this respect was to escort the aggrieved parties to the Bissoyi's court and explain the dispute to the Bissoyi at the time of arbitration. If it was an inter village dispute the Gomangas of the disputed villages convened a common meeting and settled the matter in the presence of the elders of the disputed villages. Failing to adjudicate the case the Gomangas referred the matter to the Bissoyi whose decision was final.

Types of Revenue

As stated above there were mainly three types of revenue collected from the ryots. They were 1. Tanning, 2. Tarnia and 3. Sistu. The land revenue collected in the shape of paddy from the Soura villages was called Tanning. The land revenue and the house tax collected in cash from the non-tribal villages was called Sistu. The house tax collected in cash was locally called Tarnia. It means that Sistu consisted of

Tanning and Tarnia in cash. As exceptional cases some Saura villages paid Sistu not Tanning to the Bissoyi. For example, the cluster of nine Saura villages included in Kalakote Illaka (area) paid sistu to the Bissoyi of Gumma Muttah. Some of the non-tribal villages which paid Sistu to the Bissoyi of gumma Muttah are Parida, Nilakanthapur, Adanguda, Bapangadi Laaba, Tamaranda which lie in the plains. Previously the Saura villages which were included in Kalakota Illaka were paying Tanning of 100 gadisa (12,000 kgs.) of paddy to the Bissoyi of Gumma Muttah. C. F. Mac Cartie, who was acting Principal Assistant Agent of Ganjam in 1881, felt that the amount of Tanning paid by the Sauras of Kalakota Illaka was exorbitant. He reduced the amount and made it payable in cash at Rs. 450. Besides land revenue each household was liable to pay house tax of Rs. 1.50 per year. The Gomanga collected the house tax (tarnia) at the time of Dasahara and credited to the treasury of the Bissoyi.

Besides land revenue and house taxes the ryots of big Saura villages provided goat, honey, vegetables and pulses to the Bissoyi and his staff on festive occasions. They also supplied thatching grass or straw to the Bissoyi for thatching purposes. The Sauras at that time were subjected to Vetti or forced labour without payment. The Bissoyi and his staff of all categories such as Huddadars and Paiks employed the Sauras as labourers in various agricultural operations and in domestic works such as thatching houses without paying any labour charge to them. However some food was provided to the labourers during work. The system of Tanning continued till the land revenue settlement was conducted in the Parikhemindi Maliahs by Shri Udayanath Patnaik who abolished it

and in its place introduced payment of revenue in cash at the rate of Re. 1 per Putti of paddy paid as Tanning. The amount of land revenue was fixed on village basis and it was the responsibility of the Gomango to settle the revenue on household basis and collect the same from each house hold timely and pay the revenue of the village to the Bissoyi.

The system of dal, that is, payment of mamool in kind such as vegetables, minor millets, cereals, honey, goat, etc., was abolished at the time of Udayanath Patnaik's settlement. What the ryots were liable to pay was only land revenue in cash at the rate settled by him villagewise.

Peshkush

According to the terms and conditions laid down in the Sanad each Zamindar was allowed to collect a fixed amount of Peshkush from each of the Muttah-heads and to appoint, subject to the approval of the Divisional Officer, certain of the Muttah officials, all punishments, however, were in the hands of the Divisional Officer. No chieftain was allowed either to interfere between the Bissoyis and their subordinates and ryots, or to rent out any Mutta to low country bidders and collect in caprice any mamool directly from the hill people. If any chieftain violated or challenged the legality of the Government orders and increased his Peshkush, his Agency Sanad was cancelled and the Maliahs which were under his control were attached and handed over to a new chieftain appointed by the Government. After Independence the Bissoyi of each Muttah paid the Peshkush to the Tahsildar and this practice continued till the abolition of all Intermediary system including Muttah system in 1971.

ABOUT THE STUDY VILLAGES

1. Ragedi

Ragedi is situated 5 Kms. to the west of Gumma. A fair weather jeepable road constructed by the Kalakota Grama Panchayat connects the village with Gumma. The village lies by the side of a rivulet called Marandaguda which dries up entirely in summer season. Lacking a bridge over it, the village remains cut off from any vehicular traffic during rainy season when the rivulet is in spate.

There are 43 Saora households, whose primary source of livelihood is agriculture and wage earning. 31 households have land of their own. The holdings vary from half an acre to three acres. The remaining 12 households are landless. Both the categories of households practise shifting cultivation in the nearby hill slopes. About one fourth of the households have gone to Assam to work in tea gardens.

All the households have been converted to christianity and most of them have well ventilated, spacious and substantial houses. The old pattern of houses which are single roomed small in size, low and without any window are conspicuous by their absence in the village. The village is far advanced in the locality in this respect and also in the matter of keeping the houses and the surrounding spotlessly clean. Every household has its garbage pit and the refuse from the house and the kitchen are dumped in it. It is a special feature of the village which is not noticed in any other Saora village in the vicinity.

The educational standard of the people of the village is as low as in any other Saora village. Out of 43 heads of households only two persons

have studied up to undermatric and four persons are barely literate. People have now been conscious of the importance of education. There is a demand by the villagers for a primary school in the village. The nearest school which is located in Linga is at a distance of 2 kilometres from the village and apart from the distance which has to be covered by walking the rivulet Marandaguda which flows between these two villages has to be crossed. Going to the school in rainy season is entirely out of question.

There are two public institutions in the village. One is Mahila Samiti which was organised by the Gumma Tribal Development Block and the other is Church which is exclusively a people's work. Recently the people of the village have organised a youth club. It started functioning since 23-1-1977. In a public meeting held at the Church on the eve of the 23rd January 1977 the people unanimously selected Sadan Savar of 45 years old as President and Aransa Savar of 25 years old as Secretary of the Club. One of the important functions of the Club is to look to the sanitation of the village. Unlike other Saora villages which look very shabby Ragedi wears a very neat appearance. The people have formed a habit of using the refuse dump dug by the members of the Youth Club at the outskirts of the village. The people have altogether given up drinking and smoking. For many such reforms in the life of the Saoras the credit goes to the Youth Club. Ragedi is becoming an ideal Saora village in the area.

One can notice a modern outlook on life of the people of the village. It is more conspicuous in their religious beliefs and practices. This is how a change has come about in their religious life. About 30 years ago an

important person of the village Dibasu Karji by name suffered from fever and his family members resorted to very expensive rituals for his recovery. But no ritual could save his life. The bereaved family not only had lost its leading member but also was drowned in debt which was incurred to meet the ritual expenses. This case was an eye opener to others who started questioning the religious methods of curing illness. It coincided with the time when the christianity was gaining ground in the locality and many neighbouring villages had given up divination and taken to scientific practices of curing illness. The successful stories narrated by the preachers of christianity were very much convincing to the people of the village. The ward member and the Karji of the village were the first to adopt christianity and allopathic curative practices. Subsequently all others of the village followed suit. Under the leadership of the pioneers a Church building was built in the village in 1955 and it has now become the central place of all new ideas and activities.

2. Tahajang

Tahajang is situated by the side of the road running from Parlakhemedi town to Gumma. It is at a distance of 8 Kilometres from Parlakhemedi and 19 Kilometres from Gumma. The bus plying on Parlakhemedi-Gumma road passes through the village. The village is included in the Tarangada Grama Panchayat.

Tahajang has three hamlets: (1) Tahajang proper, (2) Majhi Tahajang which is situated in the centre of the cluster of the hamlets and (3) lower Tahajang. The village consists of 47 Lanjia Saora households all converted to christianity. There is a small stream flowing by the side of the village. Except in the rainy season

when the stream contains some water it remains dry in other seasons.

The settlement pattern and houses of Tahajang are not very much different from those of any ordinary Lanjia Saora villages. Single roomed low huts without windows which are typical of Lanjia Saora houses dominate the village scene in Tahajang.

Out of 47 households 20 households are landless and the remaining 27 households own land varying from half an acre to 5 acres with the exception of the present ward member who owns 10 acres of land. The landless and the land holders alike carry on shifting cultivation in the nearby hills and grow a mixed crop of minor millets, pulses and oilseeds—such as Janna, Kangu, Suan, Ghantia, Kandula and Rasi. Those who have land in the plains grow Mandia, Kulthi, Biri, Suan and Ganga in higher elevations (Padar land) and paddy in the low lying lands (Bila lands). The staple food of the people is ragi.

The people collect minor forest produce such as Karanj seeds, Mahula, and Grasses used for making brooms and sell them to the local merchants at a nominal price. The collections of mango, green leaves and tubers are exclusively meant for home consumption. The juice from the Salap trees supplies their alcoholic drink and the turmeric from their swiddens is their principal cash crop.

There is an Upper Primary School (up to Class V) in the village. Neither the teachers nor the students are regular in their attendance. As a result the School remains closed for most of the days. No one in the village has studied up to Upper Primary standard and most of the people are illiterate.

There is a Mahila Samiti in the village organized by the Gumma Tribal Development Block. It is as useless as the School. No woman has derived any benefit from the Samity ever since it was established in the village.

The church which is built by the villagers themselves is not as active as its counterpart in Ragedi in brining about change in the traditional style of life. A mid-wife is present in the village. She is maintained by the christian mission. But her impact on the life of the people is negligible. People adopted christianity under the spell of its mystic power of alleviating human suffering and healing illness. This is how christianity was appealing to the people of the village. Suku Savar of the village suffered from some mental illness some years back and became mad. His family members worshipped the deities and sacrificed fowls, goats and pigs and performed all kinds of rituals prescribed in their traditional religious system for his quick recovery. But no divination was of any help to Suku Savar. In such a crisis some christian Saoras of neighbouring villages suggested to the family members of Suku Savar to convert him to christianity and pray Jesus Christ for his recovery. His family members did so and in addition applied scientific remedy in place of heathen customs of treatments. Suku Savar responded to the medical treatment and got well. The case of Suku Savar strengthened the faith of the people on christianity and adopted it enmasse.

What is most striking in the comparative analysis of village life in Tahajang and Ragedi is that although the former is nearer to Parlakemedi town and is located on the bus route it is least affected by the urban influences of the town and road communication. Conversely Ragedi which is far from the urban centre and away from bus

service exhibits an urban style of life. It may be assumed that the change which is noticed in the life style of the people of Ragedi may be attributed to the influence of christianity. Then the question which may be raised in this context is that why did not the christianity have the same impact on the people of Tahajang? Further probing into the socio-economic situation particularly to the leadership pattern which motivates change may throw light on this problem. The paper discusses below the nature of leadership which participated in the elective system and the manner in which the people's representatives to the statutory Panchayat and Lok Sabha were selected.

PANCHAYAT ELECTIONS

Selection of Ward member—Ragedi

Ragedi and three neighbouring villages constitute a ward. They are Tuburuda (18 households), Ukuruda (4 households) and Pindaolu (10 households). Including 43 households of Ragedi there are thus 75 households comprising about 375 population in the ward.

In 1961 when the statutory Grama Panchayat was introduced in the Gumma Block people of different villages selected their own ward members to represent their respective Grama Panchayats. The ward to which Ragedi belongs is included in Kalakots Grama Panchayat. For convenience sake this ward is called Ragedi ward. All adult male members of this ward gathered at the church in Ragedi and unanimously selected Ragina Gomanga who was the Gomanga of Ragedi as ward member. Being very old Ragina did not agree to shoulder the responsibility. When the Gomanga was unwilling to accept the offer the people then selected Daipa Savar, an elderly and important

person of Ragedi as ward member. Daipa accepted the offer and is now continuing as ward member ever since he was first selected in 1962.

Sarpanch Election, Kalakota Grama Panchayat.

Like Ragedi ward, all other wards of Kalakota Grama Panchayat had selected their respective ward members unanimously. All the ward members and a few older persons from each village gathered at Kalakota to select Sarpanch of the Panchayat. The ward members and all others present there selected Kirtan Savar of Tumkur for this post. Kirtan Savar was reluctant to accept the offer because he was much younger than the village elders present in the meeting and considered himself inexperienced. Since the verdict of the people was strongly in his favour he accepted the offer against his will. The qualities which conducted in his favour are his wide contact with general public and the leading politicians of the State. His knowledge in Oriya language, and his modesty and devotion to service to tribal communities are equally counted among the best leadership qualities which he is endowed with. Like the ward members he also continues as Sarpanch uncontested through all the successive elections from the inception of the Grama Panchayat in the Gumma Block.

Selection of ward member, Tahajang

Tahajang itself is a ward included in Tarangada Grama Panchayat. The people of Tahajang selected unanimously Chakra Gomanga, the Gomanga of the village as the ward member. Chakra Gomanga continued as ward member for five years till his death. Budda Gomanga, one of the older members of the Gomanga lineage succeeded him. In his case also there

was no contest and he was selected by general consensus of opinion. The people of his ward wanted him to continue as ward member in the next term. But he was unwilling to continue any further. Therefore the people of Tahajang decided unanimously that Majhila Savara, another important person of the village should be their ward member. Majhila Savara continues as the ward member of Tahajang.

Sarpanch Election, Tarngada Grama Panchayat.

In the first election there were two contestants Radhaballava Das and Gurli Agadu. Radhaballava Das was elected to the office of Sarpanch. The election was on majority-minority pattern. For the next term Mukuling Patra, a local merchant of Tarangada was selected uncontested. The 1975 election was a contested one. The contest was between Laxmikanta Gouda of Kurulunda and Mukling Patra of Tarangada for the office of Sarpanch. Laxmikanta Gouda was elected by majority vote. He is continuing as Sarpanch of Tarangada Grama Panchayat.

Chairman Election: Gumma Panchayat Samiti.

The Gumma Panchayat Samiti to which Kalakota and Tarangada Grama Panchayats belong started functioning since 1962. At that time the Samiti was constituted by four nominated members and one elected member. The Subdivisional Officer was then empowered to nominate persons to serve as members of the Panchayat Samiti. The persons who were nominated were: (1) Chaitana Dandaseena of Gumma, (2) Radhamohan Bissovi of Seranga, (3) Nila Savara of Kalakota and (4) K. Apparao of Jeeva. The elected member was Musuli Naidu of Jeeva.

Formerly Jeeva Panchayat was a part of Kashinagar Panchayat Samiti. But after 1961 when the panchayats were reorganized Jeeva was included in the Gumma Panchayat Samiti. Musuli Naidu was an elected ward member of Jeeva Panchayat. When his Panchayat was included in the Gumma Panchayat Samiti he was taken in as one of the members of the Samiti.

For the office of Chairman of Gumma Panchayat Samiti there was a contest between Chaitan Dandasena and Musuli Naidu. It was an indirect election which means that the five members of the Samiti were to elect their Chairman and Vice-Chairman. The members elected Chaitan Dandasena as Chairman and Radha Mohan Bissoyi as Vice-Chairman of the Gumma Panchayat Samiti. After a few days Musuli Naidu became the Sarpanch of Jeeva Grama Panchayat.

Chaitan Dandasena was in the position of Chairman from 1962 to 1968. In 1968 election, there were 5 candidates in the field. They were 1. Bipin Naik, Dom by caste of Seranga, 2. Barik Pujari, Ex-Huddadar of Gaiba, 3. Chaitan Paik, Ex-Militia-man of Gumma, 4. Musuli Naidu, Sarpanch of Jeeva and 5. Radhaballava Das of Tarangada. There was keen contest among the candidates and Barik Pujari was elected to the office of Chairman by majority vote.

Barik Pujari served the full term of office till the year 1971, when there was a fresh election for the same office. The candidates who were in the field are 1. Barik Pujari (former Chairman), 2. Bipin Naik, a Dom from Seranga who contested the Chairman election in 1968, and 3. Bhikari Pattanayak of Gumma, a new entrant to the political arena. Bhikari Pattanayak won the election and was in the office of Samiti Chairman from 1971 to 1975.

Unlike the previous three elections the 1975 Chairman election was not contested. Bhubananda Bissoyi, Ex-Bissoyi of Gumma, Barik Pujari of Gaiba and two Doms of the same village filed nominations to contest the election. Prior to the election all the Saoras who are numerically preponderant in the Samiti, gathered in Kalakota and decided unanimously to vote for Bhubananda Bissoyi. Knowing this that they would surely be defeated the two Dom candidates and Barik Pujari withdrew their candidature and Bhubananda Bissoyi was selected by general consensus of opinion as the Chairman of Gumma Panchayat Samiti. Bhubananda Bissoyi is continuing now in the same position.

It is very clear in the successive Grama Panchayat elections that generally the mode of election of candidates for the offices of ward member and Sarpanch was unanimity and general consensus of opinion. Contest or election by majority vote is traced in the cases where the non-tribal candidates have entered into the political arena of Panchayat election. Cases of contest for the lower and middle order offices have occurred in Tarangada Grama Panchayat which is situated near Parlakhemedi, an important urban centre in the locality, accessible to all wheather road on which bus service lies regularly and composed of non-tribal and tribal communities.

Contrasted to this there is not a single instance of contest for such levels of offices in Kalakota Grama Panchayat. The selection of ward members and Sarpanch in all successive elections was by general consensus of opinion. In fact, the persons who were chosen in 1962 continued in their respective offices through 1968, 1971 and 1975 elections up to the present time on the strength of unanimous verdict of the voters. Moreover in a

political arena where a single community of face-to-face type is in overwhelming majority any contest between parties for political position is bound to be dull and of insignificant order. The reason is that the element of unanimity characteristic of numerically preponderant face-to-face community will inhibit the forces of division of its verdict and the party which enjoys the good will of the face-to-face community's choice will bag all its votes as is done in the case of an uncontested election.

Kalakota Grama Panchayat which is the epitome of Saora culture exhibits a kind of village unity and cultural homogeneity that is unparalleled in the rest of the Saora country. Generally speaking, consensus of opinion by which selection of people's representatives is made is common in those of the areas of the Saora country which are least affected by non-tribal political elements and urban influences. In this respect the Saora villages in Gumma Block are like face-to-face communities, which hold the value of unity, unanimity and consensus much above the value of contest, factionalism and conflict.

Another feature which is discernible in the successive elections to the office of Chairman of Gumma Panchayat Samiti is that the verdict of the Saora voters was in favour of the erstwhile Muttah-head (Bissoyi) and his administrative staff and militia men. The verdict of the majority, that is, the Saoras in Gumma area in the matter of elections to positions of power in statutory Grama Panchayat was on the side of the erstwhile Bissoyi, his relations and his Huddadars, Naiks and village Gomanges in a number of cases. The continued obedience to the past authority even after its liquidation is one of the significant features of face-to-face communities.

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT PARTY POLITICS AND PARTICIPATION IN LAST LOK SABHA ELECTION

Awareness of Party Politics

The political party which is known to the majority of the Saoras of Gumma Block is Congress in totality not in parts as 'Ruling Congress' or 'Congress for Democracy'. They have no idea about what is ruling party and what is opposition party. They confessed that in all general elections either to legislative assembly or to parliament, they have been unanimous in the matter of casting vote for Congress. In their mind except Congress there is no other political party in existence in the country. To them congress is synonymous with Indira Gandhi. Voting for Congress means to them voting for Indira Gandhi. They stress that they are men of Congress. In other words, they are men of Indira Gandhi. When asked about Mahatma Gandhi the majority of the Saoras replied "they have heard only the name of Indira Gandhi and don't know who the other Gandhi is."

Election Campaign

During Lok Sabha election one public meeting was studied. It was held at Gumma and Shri Mohan Naik presided over it and also addressed the public who attended the meeting. The chief of the District Level Congress organisation sent prior intimation about the meeting to the Chairman of the Gumma Panchayat Samiti. On getting the news the Chairman convened a meeting of the Sarpanches and ward members to inform them about the meeting and arrange for a large gathering of people on this occasion. The Sarpanches and the ward members informed the people of their respective Panchayats and wards and asked them to attend the meeting in large number.

The news about the meeting did not reach many villages. For example,

the people of Tahajang were not aware of it because the ward member of this village who was supposed to inform the people of his ward was unaware of the meeting. In rural and tribal areas the political parties make known to the people their programmes of public meetings and speeches and their manifestos through the medium of statutory Grama Panchayats. In spite of wide publicity by the ward members and Sarpanches the attendance in the meeting was less than 100 people. The reasons for poor attendance was their low political consciousness and their pre-occupation in heavy agricultural operations in shifting cultivation.

Except this meeting neither the Congress party candidate nor the Janata party candidate had visited the Gumma area even for once on election campaign. Three Congress posters which were posted in Ragedi and Tahajang by the Congress President of the Block constituted the whole of election campaign in the study villages.

Voting Behaviour

A large majority of the Saora voters were unaware of the parties which sought for their vote. Though some leading members of the Saora Community had known that the Congress party was contesting the election, but none in the study villages could tell the other party with which the Congress party was contesting. The people in general were not able to tell the names of the candidates who stood for election to the Lok Sabha from their constituency, while the majority of the Saoras of

Gumma Block were ignorant about the contesting candidates. Some of them thought vaguely that the contest was between Indira Gandhi and Biju Patnaik.

The Saoras had no idea about the symbol of the Janata Party. But they had some vague idea about the symbol of Congress party. Some respondents said that it was bullock and others guessed it to be cow. But very few could tell the exact symbol of the Congress party.

On the day of polling the ward members escorted the voters of their respective wards to the polling booths. It was observed that more than 80 per cent of the voters from the study villages had been to the polling stations to exercise their franchise. But about 20 per cent of them were not able to do so since their names were not present in the voters' list. At the booth the Saoras of different villages talked with one another that they would cast their vote for Indira Gandhi without referring to the party at all. Many a Saora voter stamped the ballot papers twice or thrice amounting thereby to a large number of cancellations of ballot papers. On the whole the observation of the Lok Sabha election in Gumma Block reveals that the concept of political party is beyond the cognition of the Saoras. As feudal order is personified in the form of Raja, Bissoyi and Huddadar, the political party is personified in the form of some political luminaries in their cognitive orientation.

Appendix I
1963-1968

Type of Election	Name of candidates	Age-group	Caste/Tribe	Position held in Panchayat	Economic condition	Mode of selection
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Ragadi Ward Member	Daipa Savara	Middle aged (45)	Saora	..	Poor	Unanimity
Kalakot Gram Panchayat Sarpanch.	Kirtan Savara	Young	Saora	..	Moderate means	Unanimity
Tahajang Ward Member	Chakra Gomango	Old	Saora	..	Moderate means	Unanimity
Turnagada Gram Panchayat Sarpanch.	Radhahallava Das	Middle aged	Oriya (Brahmin)	..	Rich	Majority Vote
	Gurli Agadu	Middle aged	Pano	..	Moderate means	..
Gumma Panchayat Sarpanch.	Charitra Dandaseena, Chairman.	Middle aged	Oriya (Paika)	..	Rich	Majority Vote
	Rudhamohan Bisoil, Vice-Chairman.	Middle aged	Oriya	..	Rich	Majority Vote
	Nila Savara	Middle aged	Saora	..	Moderate means	..
	K. Appa Rao	Middle aged	Telugu	..	Rich	..
	Musuli Naidu	Middle aged	Telugu	..	Rich	..

APPENDIX I
1958—1971

Type of Election	Name of candidates	Age-group	Caste/Tribe	Position held in Feudal order	Economic condition	Mode of selection
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Ragedi Ward Member	Daipa Savara ..	Middle aged	Saora ..	..	Poor ..	Unanimity
Kajakot Gram Panchayat Sarpanch.	Kirtan savara ..	Young	Saora ..	..	Moderate means	Unanimity
Tahajang ward Member	Budda Gomang ..	Old	Saora ..	Relation of Cornug	Moderate means	Unanimity
Tarangada Gram Panchayat Sarpanch	Mukuling Petra ..	Middle aged	Oriya (Brahmin)	..	Rich (Merchant)	Uncontested
Gumma Panchayat Samiti Chairman.	Barik Pujari ..	Middle aged	Oriya ..	Huddadar ..	Rich ..	Majority Vote ..
	Bijan Naik ..	Middle aged	Dem ..	..	Moderate means	..
	Chaitan Paik ..	Middle aged	Oriya ..	Paik ..	Moderate means	..
	Radhakulava Das ..	Middle aged	Oriya Paik ..	..	Moderate means	..
	Musuli Naidu ..	Middle aged	Telugu ..	..	..	..

Appendix II

1971-1975

Type of Election	Name of candidates	Age-group	Caste/Tribe	Position held in Panchal Order	Economic condition	Mode of selection
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Ragedi Ward Member	Dalpa Savar	Middle aged	Saura	..	Poor	Unanimity
Kalsani Gram Panchayat Sarpanch,	Kartan Savar	Young	Saura	..	Moderate means	Unanimity
Tehajang Ward Member	Majhila Savara	Old	Saura	..	..	Unanimity
Tarangada Gram Panchayat Sarpanch,	Mukaling Patra	Middle aged	Oriya	..	Rich houses,	Un-contested
Gumma Panchayat Samiti Chairman,	..	..	..	..	..	..

	Bhikari Pailaniyak	Middle aged	Oriya	..	Moderate means	Majority Vote
	Barik Pujari	Middle aged	Oriya	Haddadar	Rich	..
	Elpin Naik	Middle aged	Dom	..	Moderate means	..

Appendix II
1975

Type of Election	Name of candidates	Age-group	Caste/Tribe	Position held in Feudal order	Economic condition	Mode of selection
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Ragdi Ward Member ..	Daspa Savara	Middle aged	Savara ..	..	Poor	Un-contended (unanimity)
Kalakot Gram Panchayat Sarpanch.	Kirtan Savara	Young	Savara	..	Moderate means	Unanimity
Tahajang Ward Member ..	Majhila Savara ..	Old	Savara ..	..	Rich man	Unanimity
Tarangada Gram Panchayat Sarpanch.	Laxmikanta Gauda	Middle aged	Mika man ..	..	Moderate means	Majority Vote
Gumma Panchayat Samiti Chairman.	Mukling Patra ..	Middle aged	Komli ..	..	Merchant	..
	Bhubananda Bisoi	Middle aged	Oriya ..	Mulla-Head (Bisoi)	Rich	Uncontended

Anthropogenetic study of the Pentia Halvas of Koraput District

USHA DEKA

K. GOSH MAULIK

PART I

INTRODUCTION

The People and the Habitat :

District Koraput in Orissa is the abode of many tribal populations who are predominantly of Protoaustraloid origin. It has a unique position geographically. It boards with Andhra Pradesh on one side and Madhya Pradesh on the other. Hilly ranges of Eastern Ghat occupies most portion and the valleys underlying are the populated areas. Rich forest is visible on the hilly sections and temperature and rainfall varies from the plain areas to the hill areas. Numerous primitive populations occupy different territories and pass for different tribes and Scheduled Castes. They maintain apparent biological and social segregation and thus provides scopes for anthropological studies. General habitational conditions, literacy, and technological efficiency are still in very primitive condition. Even to-day communication within the district is very poor. In past communication was only by foot. Naturally, the populations

under same tribal nomenclature, but occupying different territories of the same district do not have social intercourse. Such is the case in the tribe under present study.

The people under present study call themselves as Halvas, an agriculturist tribal community. They narrate a myth regarding their migration from neighbouring district of Bastar of Madhya Pradesh. According to this myth, they incurred wrath of the local king by killing his elephant and fled away to an area 'Pentkona'. As they were hiding in 'Pentkona' this section of Halvas came to be known later as Pentia. Sathpathy (Adivasi : 1964 : 161) also reports similar thing. There are another section of Halvas living in other area (Mathili Police Station area) of the same district, who do not have any social or biological communication with these people. Census of India reports them as 'Halvas' whereas the present people only as 'Pentia'. The problem of identification by name is increased in this way and only a bio-cultural approach can help solving the problem by assessing their cultural and ethnic affinity.

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In absence of any multidisciplinary study on these two population groups, we have ventured a small scale study on sampling basis with limited resources at our disposal. The present study is aimed at revealing some salient features of morphological (metrical) and genetical character among the Pentia Halva.

Distribution

1961 Census report reveals presence of these people in Koraput, Mayur-

bhanj, Keonjhar, Phulbani (Baudh-Kondhmal), and Dhenkanal districts. Few persons have been reported from Cuttack and Puri districts also. Total population in Orissa was estimated to be 9656 with sex ratio as 971 females per 1000 males. District Koraput records 42 per cent of the total population followed next by Mayurbhanj as 40 per cent. The table below will give a detailed occurrence of the population in different district.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO 1961 CENSUS

District		Total No.	Male	Female
1. Koraput	..	4,112	2,067	2,045
2. Mayurbhanj	..	3,853	1,968	1,885
3. Keonjhar	..	685	370	315
4. Baudh-Kondhmal (Phulbani)	..	551	277	274
5. Dhenkanal	..	369	182	187
6. Cuttack	..	61	16	45
7. Sambalpur	..	24	18	6
8. Puri	..	1	1	0

Total population in Orissa 9,656. Male 4,899 and Female 4,757

The data of 1971 Census is not at hand. In Koraput, the Pentia Halvas are found to live around Jeypore, Bhairabsingpur and Boriguma. In the Jeypore locality, they are found in six villages, around Bhairabsingpur in thirteen villages and around Boriguma in four villages. Data for present study were collected from 8 villages in Jeypore and Bhairabsingpur locality.

Occupation

The Pentia Halvas are mentioned in the 1901 Census Report of Madras

Presidency (Part—I: 1902: page 174) as "Oriya cultivators in Vizagapatnam Agency; also called Halava". They are predominantly settled agriculturist and live in the plains. They use plough for cultivation and mainly raise paddy. We have not come across any case of shifting cultivation in the locality under our survey.

The present group of population practise settled agriculture, most of the population being engaged in agriculture either as cultivator or as agriculture labourer.

Classification of the Pantia Halva of different workers according to 1961 Census, is as follows:—

Workers	Total	Male	Female
Cultivator ..	2,590	1,619	971
Agricultural labourer ..	1,040	530	510
Mining and Quarrying ..	151	144	7
Household Industry ..	740	385	355
Manufacturing other than household Industry	5	3	2
Construction ..	1	1	0
Trade and Commerce ..	24	9	15
Transport storage and Communication ..	6	6	0
Other services ..	627	389	238
Total No. of workers ..	5,184	3,085	2,098
Total No. of non-workers ..	4,472	1,813	2,659

Language and Educational level

The Pantia Halvas speak Oriya and do not have any language of their own. Census Reports mention that some amount of Ho and Kui language is also present in some locality.

Educational level is very low. We have not found any literate person in our sample. Das mentions the 5 per cent to 9 per cent are literate without any educational level.

Religion

Their main deity is "Adimata" or Samalei Thakurani, a goddess. They appease her on all crises like epidemic breakout and other natural distress, and also on religious occasions. Also Hindu gods have been adopted. Jani is the priest who worships goddess. Usually he is of Paroja community. Disari or community astrologer helps in settling dates of sacred occasions & religious festivals.

Village : Organizations

Huts are mud-built and thatched and arranged usually in rows. Divisions and breakdown of families after marriage of sons, create a complex household around common courtyard. Male members are the head of a family. Traditional headman of a village is 'Bhat Naik'. He wields power bestowed upon him for settling matters of dispute or social problems as and when required. 'Chalan' is also a traditional post, who carries message and help Naik.

Marriage

Previously there was preference for marriage of cross-cousins i.e. marrying Mother's brother's daughter. But at present, following neighbouring caste Hindu people, this preference is lost. Only the permissibility exists. It is probable that previously levirate was also in practice, as the widow has to pay some amount to her husband's

younger brother if she wants to remarry others. Polygamy is permissible, but very rarely performed.

Marriage may be negotiated or settled by the Spouses themselves. In the negotiated marriage, some relative or father himself searches for a bride for his son from other 'gotra'. Like Hindus, they also observe 'gotra' exogamy. There are several gotra as 'Naga Nageswar' 'Kashyap' or 'Upria' 'Subarna' or 'Sunakeria', Khamria or monkey, 'Shila' or stone etc.

Child marriage is not practised. Girls are more useful and perform not only household duties, but assist in agricultural work also. So brides parents are given money as 'bride wealth'. Previously number of bullocks and plough were demanded but now cash money is usually given.

Puberty attainment of a girl observed with some rituals is performed at the end of nine days to free her from pollution. In every month during the period, 7 to 9 days pollution is observed by keeping her segregated.

Death

They have approved both burial and cremation of dead body. It is probable that, burial was the original practice and later on effects of Hinduization have resulted in adoption of cremation practice. Similar cases are also observed in most of the local tribes and castes. In burial, they laid down the body with head in north and face upwards. In burning, which is a bit costly affair, they cut down wood and make a pier. The eldest son performs last rite by putting fire in the mouth.

The Pentia Halvas of the Jeypure, Bariguma and Bhairabsingpur locality are obviously a settled agriculturist

group who claim to have migrated from their counterparts in the same (Halvas or Halfis of Mathili area) and from Bastar long back and are themselves a segregated population other districts. A cross-sectional sample have been examined on genetic and metric aspect which are presented in next chapters.

PART II

ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS

Measurements of Physical character of body are very useful and basic criteria for classification of human races. All the major classifications of man are based on systematic measurements known as 'anthropometry' and developed through many scientific discourse since time of Paul Broca and Blumenbach. Later on the measurements were more standardized for comparative use and we followed the prescriptions of Martin as outlined in his book 'LEHRBUCH DER ANTHROPOLOGIE' (1927).

Apart from using the metrical features in classifying races, they are of most use in study of growth and development of individuals as also a community. There are many listed measurements out of which few were selected here for precision and utilization along with genetic characters. The measurements selected here are (1) Stature; (2) Sitting height (3) Head length; (4) Head breadth (5) Head height (6) Nose length or nasal height and (7) Nasal breadth. The technique of measurements followed the standard method outlined in Martin. Calculation of indices and classification of the results were done as in Martin and Saller (1957). Statistical reduction of data were done not

only for analysis but for ready comparison with other studies as and when required.

For the purpose of having proper assessment of anthropometric features, only adult individuals were measured. The present sample of 164 adult individuals were selected randomly after segregating or stratifying the available population into adult and sub-adult units and further into not closely related individuals. And thus sample from only one strata was drawn. The data are presented itemwise in the tables No. 1 to 7, which are discussed in the course of analysis below.

1. Stature or Height vertex

Table 1 contains classified data on stature of 164 Pentia Halvas. Six categories of heights are made as approved by Martin.

The Pentias fall mostly in short statured group (53.66 per cent) out of which 4.88 per cent of individuals are very short. The lowest height measured is 147.0 cm. and the highest was 170.0 (table 3). People with lower medium height is found among 14.63 per cent, medium height among 24.38 per cent and upper medium among 4.88 per cent. Tall category is reached only by 2.44 per cent individuals.

Table 1
CLASSIFICATION OF STATURE (ACCORDING TO MARTIN)

Type	Range in cms.	Frequency of Individuals	
		N	%
Very Short	.. 130.0 — 149.9	8	4.88
Short	.. 150.0 — 159.9	80	48.78
Lower Medium	.. 160.0 — 169.9	24	14.63
Medium	.. 164.0 — 166.9	40	24.38
Upper Medium	.. 167.0 — 169.9	8	4.88
Tall	.. 170.0 — 179.9	4	2.44
Total	..	164	99.90

We may assume that these people have mostly short stature marginal to medium i. e. 160.0 cm., as displayed by the mean Stature as 158.27 cm. ± 0.409 Standard deviation is calculated as 5.24 cm. indicating great variability which is expressed by coefficient of variation (3.31) in table 3.

2. Sitting Height

Height of person is divided into two segments length of trunk and head and length of inferior extremity. Varying rate of development is marked in these two segments, from childhood to adult life. Besides age and

sex variations, people are seen to vary ethnically as in case of other height measurements. Sitting height displays certain aspect of trunk development, though it is not exactly trunk

height, as it includes head. It can rather be called as bust height and its growth and development are mainly achieved during and after puberty, as opposed to the lower limbs.

Table 2
CLASSIFICATION OF SITTING HEIGHT

Range (in cms.)	Frequency of Individuals	
	N	%
63 — 67	4	2.44
68 — 72	12	7.31
73 — 77	80	48.78
78 — 82	52	31.71
83 — 87	16	9.75
Total	164	99.99

Sitting height is also used to calculate skele index or body build index with relation to stature. Manouvrier and Giuffrida-Ruggeri both introduced two different methods of calculating the index, which are used by persons engaged in studying growth. For the present analysis, as the study has been kept limited no such attempts have been made.

Table 2 displays fivefold subdivisions of sitting height measurements. Highest frequency (48.78 per cent) noticed in the group 73-77 cms. Mean sitting height is 76.95 cm. with s. e. of 0.28 and a deviation of 3.63 cms. (table 3). The mean sitting height is little less than half the mean stature. This indicates an overall occurrence of brachycormic physique in Ruggeri-Vallois Scale.

Table 3
STATISTICAL VALUES OF SOME VARIABLE TRAITS

Measurement Type	Range in cms.	Mean in cms.	S. E. in cms.	S. D. in cms.	C. V.
1. Stature	147.0 — 170.0	158.27	0.409	5.24	3.31
2. Sitting Height	66.0 — 87.0	76.95	0.28	3.63	4.72
3. Head Height	8.6 — 17.0	12.16	0.22	2.85	23.38
4. Head Length	15.0 — 19.1	18.29	0.06	0.77	4.22
5. Head Breadth	12.5 — 15.0	12.73	0.05	0.66	5.21
6. Nose Length	4.0 — 5.5	4.55	0.11	1.37	3.01
7. Nose Breadth	3.3 — 4.6	4.65	0.05	0.651	13.98

3. Head Measurements

Classification of human races were mainly done on the basis of cephalic types depending on measurements. Head size and shape, has always given the anthropologists a headaching problem as evidence from the earlier literatures. Occurrence of broad headers their migration etc. have been widely studied. Now, these are used as a descriptive trait in popula-

tion studies, not with reduction in value.

In the present case, only three dimensions of head was measured length, breadth and height.

In table 3 the data are presented. Head height varies in measurement from 8.6 cm. to 17.0 cm. as displayed by a high value of variance (coefficient of variation 23.38). Mean head height is found to be 12.16 cm.

Table 4

CLASSIFICATION OF HEAD ACCORDING TO CEPHALIC INDEX (SALLER)

Type	Range (male)	Frequency	
		N	%
Hyperdolichocephalic	.. X-70.9	8	4.88
Dolichocephalic	.. 71.0-75.9	80	48.78
Mesocephalic	.. 76.0-80.9	48	29.26
Brachycephalic	.. 81.0-85.4	20	12.19
Hyperbrachycephalic	.. 85.5-90.9	6	3.66
Ultrabrachycephalic	.. 91.0-X	2	1.22

Compared to head height, length, and breadth measurements show less variability. Head length varies from 15.0 cm. to 19.1 cm. and breadth varies from 12.5 cm. to 15.0 cm. Mean values for both the measurements are 18.29 in case of head length and 12.73 in case of breadth (table 3).

These measurements are utilized for calculating three indices as devised by Martin and Saller, cephalic index (i) for length-breadth ratio, (ii) for length height ratio and (iii) for breadth height ratio. These are presented in tables 4, 5 and 6.

Table 4 contains frequency of length-breadth index of head. Majority of the people are dolichocephals (53.66 per cent), of which 4.88 per cent are hyperdolicho and 29.26 per cent are in mesocephal group. Broad headed persons occur in 17.07 per cent Brachycephaly is present in all its three categories (Saller): brachycephal 12.19 per cent hyperbrachycephal 3.66 per cent and 1.22 per cent ultrabrachycephal.

Length-height ratio (according to Saller's classification) of head presents 90.23 per cent hypsicephal. Other

two categories of medium and long roofed head, occur exactly in same number 4.88 per cent in each case (table 5).

Table 5
LENGTH-HEIGHT INDEX OF HEAD (SALLER)

Type of head	Range of index	Frequency	
		N	%
Chamacephalic	.. X—57.9	8	4.88
Orthocephalic	.. 58.0—62.0	8	4.88
Hypsocephalic	.. 63.0—X	148	90.23

Breadth-height index of head also exhibit highest frequency of acrocephals (77.43 per cent). Metriocephal comes as next high 12.80 per cent and Tapeiocephal as 9.76 per cent.

It is revealed from the study that the Pentia exhibit mostly long and high head, though few persons are found to possess broad and high head.

Table 6
BREADTH-HEIGHT INDEX OF HEAD (MARTIN AND SALLER)

Type of head	Range of index	Frequency	
		N	%
Tapeiocephalic	.. X—78.9	16	9.76
Metriocephalic	.. 79.0—84.9	21	12.80
Acrocephalic	.. 85.0—X	127	77.43

4. Nasal Measurements

Like cephalic characteristics, nasal characters are also used as racial criteria. There are several measurements and observations on nose, like length, breadth, depth, nostril apertures, septum, bridge etc. Out of

these, the two essential and most important characters of metrical nature presented here (table 3).

Nose may be described as long or short or narrow or broad. These arbitrary descriptions depend much on facial length. So index calculation is

widely used, which express length breadth ratio. Classification of nose

index, according to Martin and Saller (1957) is presented below :

Table 7
CLASSIFICATION OF NASAL INDEX (MARTIN AND SALLER)

Type	Range	Frequency	
		N	%
Leptorrhine	55.0-69.9	5	3.06
Mesorrhine	70.0-84.9	95	57.92
Chamaerhine	85.0-99.9	64	39.02

Length of nose varies from 4.0 cm. to 5.5 cm. This shows a mean value of 4.55 cm. and s. e. of 0.11. Nasal breadth ranges from 3.3 cm. to 4.6 cm. with a mean value of 4.6 cm. and s. e. of 0.05. The two mean values exhibit an interesting factor. The nasal breadth is marginally higher than the nasal length. Breadth present more variance than length (c. v. is 13.98 as against 3.01 in the latter), shown in table 3.

Length-breadth ratio of nose, of course, makes the picture moderate, as appeared from mean values of length and breadth. 57.92 per cent persons are mesorrhine; but a considerable number of wide or flat nosed persons occur in the population as expressed by 39.02 per cent of chamaerhine. Long and narrow nose occur only as trace among 3.05 per cent of individuals.

PART III

SOME CHARACTERS WITH GENETIC IMPLICATIONS

Some characters have been chosen for study which have known way of

inheritance or whose method of inheritance is still to be found. In the first case, it has been possible to calculate the occurrence of responsible genes and to judge the position of these people. In latter cases, only the pattern of occurrence of the traits have been analysed and these have been used as characters for assessing inter-ethnic differentiation.

Under certain unavoidable limitations, this study was to be restricted within the study of only certain traits. These are: (i) A B O blood group, (ii) Rh-factor with only anti-D serum, (iii) Taste response to PTC, (iv) Capacity of rolling and folding tongue, (v) Occurrence of hairs on the ear pinna or hypertrichosis, (vi) Occipital hair whorl, (vii) Middle phalangeal hair occurrence, (viii) Ear lobe attachment, (ix) Hand clasping, (x) Arm folding, (xi) Handedness, (xii) Preference of eye or eye dominance, (xiii) Hand digital formula, and (xiv) Toe formula.

Data

Villages were selected randomly from two areas of concentration: (1) Jeypore and (2) Bhairavasingpur.

Within the villages only the males could be sampled. Female data were scanty and incomplete for all the traits and thus omitted from analysis. Only those persons who co-operated were considered and close relatives were avoided.

Method

1. Blood Groups: ABO blood group and Rh-factor were studied with 2 per cent suspension of washed RBC obtained from finger pricks. All blood samples were studied within two hours of collection. Sera for ABO and Rh(D) were obtained from Bharat Laboratories, Bombay.

All the group A and AB blood samples were tested with extract of *Dolichos biflorus* to determine the sub-groups A¹ and A² Rh-factor study was to be restricted only to anti-D serum as other sera were not available.

2. Taste sensitivity to PTC was tested by solution prepared and diluted as outlined by Harris and Kalmus (1949); but 'sorting technique' was modified by introducing the solution through droppers. Stock solution was prepared in distilled water but diluent was local drinking water, previously boiled.

3. Tongue rolling and folding were noted after careful observation on performance of the subject.

4. Hair growth on the ear rims were noted and recorded as 'mild' (few) and 'strong' (more than five hairs).

5. Presence of hair on the back side of the head could be observed easily, as most of the people do not keep long hair tucked up in bun, as found in other tribes of the same district. Type and number of whorls were marked.

6. Presence of hair on the dorsal side of the middle section of all the four digits (save the thumb) of hand was observed with a hand magnifying glass, after properly cleaning the portions. All the people are manual workers. So most of the affected individuals have dropped their hairs, though the follicles are embedded in the skin. Careful observation reveals this matter.

7. Types of Ear lobe attachment was observed on both the lappets and extent of attachment in the doubtful cases were examined. The persons were noted under categories, 'free', 'attached' and 'intermediate' or partially attached.

8. Bilateral variance in dominance of limbs were observed for four characters: 1. Hand clasping; 2. Arm folding; 3. Handedness and 4. Preferring eye.

For hand clasping and arm folding, three performances were taken. In determining handedness, the subject was asked to throw stone thrice. Eye preference was found out by asking each person to look through a monocular view finder. Readings were marked and noted as 'R' or 'L' meaning right or left according to preference. No doubtful case was noticed.

9. Though there are instruments like dactylometer, one devised by S. R. Das and a modified one by I. J. S. Bansal, here a more simple but precise method was adopted for quick field study of the relative lengths of the fingers in the difficult tribal areas. This device consists of a millimeter graph paper fitted on a plywood board. Palm is placed on such graph-board tallying with a base line and an axis. Readings of finger tip projections are precisely taken by placing a wooden block.

The readings are noted as 2 4, 2 4 and 2 4. Similarly, the approach of the little finger up to the last interphalangeal joint of the fourth finger was also taken by placing the palm in supine.

10. For studying the comparative lengths of the 1st and 2nd toes, each subject was asked to present his feet on a flat surface, and stand erect, so that all the toes are fully stretched in natural position. Observation was made and in cases where the two

lengths are nearly equal, judgement was made by placing feet on the graph paper-board covered with celophen paper to prevent spoiling.

ANALYSIS

1. Blood Groups

The present study comprises of the analyses of data on A¹, A², B, O blood group and Rh-factor of 168 individuals belonging to Pentia Halva tribal community. The data are presented here (table 8.).

Table 8

ABO AND Rh PHENOTYPES OF THE PENTIAS AND THE GENE FREQUENCIES

Phenotypes	n	%	Gene frequencies	
			Bernstein's	Max. Likelihood
A ₁ ..	8	4.76	P ₁ 0.04919	0.05077 ± .01178
A ₂ ..	16	9.52	p ₁ 0.05220	0.05095 ± .01268
B ..	76	45.23	q 0.29571	0.29060 ± .03204
O ..	60	35.71	r 0.60340	0.60765 ± .03277
A ₁ B ..	8	4.76	0.99986	0.99998
Rh(D) ..	168	100.00	Rh(d)	0.00

It has been observed that group B is found in maximum number, i.e., 45.23 per cent, followed next by Group O (35.71 per cent) and next by A (14.28 per cent). It is interesting to note that, sub group A¹ is less in occurrence than A², only 4.76 per cent as compared to 9.52 per cent. Usually A² is of half the occurrence AB (4.76 per cent), there is not a single case A²B individual.

Gene frequencies for the alleles P(A) q(B) and r(O) were calculated using both Bernstein's improved method as well as maximum likelihood

estimation. The calculated frequencies are presented in the above table (8). Both the estimates show highest occurrence of r gene followed sequentially by q, then P² and P¹.

Same number of individuals were tested with Rh (o) serum with incubation at the required temperature. All of the sampled blood showed positive reaction and thus no case of Rh-negative was detected. Complete absence of negative phenotype in a randomly sampled finite population indicates strong selection operating against recessive non-beneficial allele.

2. P.T.C. Taste Sensitivity

Tasting ability of Phenyl Thio Carbamide was studied among 172 Pentia Halvas. Solution of 1.3 grams of the crystal per litre of water was used with serial dilutions (as explained in previous pages). This crystal has got characteristic that some persons can taste it bitter and the others do not get any taste. Advantage of arial dilution is that it helps in determining threshold of tasting ability. It happens that the

taster persons get slightly bitter taste in higher dilution number but their actual taste capacity is detected in one or two solutions lesser (higher concentration). This is because physiological threshold of a person may lie in between two solution numbers.

The sample of 172 contains 44 persons who could not taste even the number 1 solution, and placed under category 1 (Table 9). No person could taste solution of higher dilution than 8 (Table 9).

Table 9

TASTE THRESHOLD DISTRIBUTION OF PTC OF THE PENTIAS AND THE GENE FREQUENCIES

		Solution Nos. :									
No. tested	..	<1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
172	..	44	21	12	16	4	14	28	22	8	0
Taster ; {		n	%		Mean threshold			Allelic frequency of t			
		72	41.86		6.333 ± .1076			0.762 ± .002			

Considering the demarcation of taster and non-taster to lie between solutions 4 and 5, taste phenotype and mean threshold of taster have been calculated (Table above). Non taster frequency is very high 58.14 per cent. There are 41.86 per cent tasters. Range of threshold of taster vary from 5 to 8 with a mean of 6.333.

Assuming diallelic inheritance of taste character, the gene frequencies have been calculated by square root method. Frequency of recessive gene t is 0.762 and that of dominant gene T is 0.238 (Table 9).

3. Tongue : Rolling and Folding

There are certain persons who can roll their tongue longitudinally and laterally. This is also mentioned as tongue tip overfolding and moving up the lateral margins. But the capacity do not always go together; that means same person may not possess both capacities. Pedigree studies have revealed that the inheritance is in the manner of PTC taste ability. So this trait can be used to measure inter-populational variation, as the observations are less critical.

Four categories could be made for recording the tongue movement capacity: (i) Those who can do the both (roll and fold); (ii) Who cannot roll

but fold; (iii) Who can roll but fail to fold, and the (iv) Persons who are negative to both the performances.

Table 10

PHENOTYPIC DISTRIBUTION AND GENE FREQUENCIES OF TONGUE ROLLING AND FOLDING IN THE PENTIAS

No.	Roller/Folder	Roller/Non-folder	Non-roller/Folder	Non-roller/Non-folder
168	n 32	16	28	92
	% 19.05	9.52	16.66	54.76
Gene frequencies:—				
Rolling	n Positive type 48	28.58 %	R	
			O $a=0.534$	
			L	
Folding	n 60	45.24 %	L $A=0.466$	
			E	
			R	

Data on tongue rolling and folding are presented in Table 10. In a sample of 168 individuals, there are four phenotypic categories of the following nature: 54.76 per cent persons can neither roll up or fold their tongues; 19.05 per cent persons can perform both the movements. There are 28.18 per cent persons who fall in the intermediate category or can perform either of the characters. Out of this, 9.52 per cent persons can roll up but not fold their tongues and 16.66 per cent can show only folding character. There are more persons with negative phenotype for both the characters; but comparatively folding character has much higher frequency than rolling. In pooled data, only 28.58 per cent persons can roll their tongue whereas number of folder has gone up to 45.24 per cent (Table 10).

Allelic frequencies were estimated by using square root of the negative phenotype frequency and standard error was calculated. The frequencies are presented in Table 24.

4. Hypertrichosis or Hair on the ear Pinnae

There are certain male persons who develop hair on their ears. Single or both ears may show this development. Also different areas of ear are observed to bear hair. Tommasi (1907) described such characters first and marked it as inherited trait in the male line. Since then a number of workers in human genetics have contributed valuable materials for its establishment as genetic trait. The age of onset of hair development, intensity of hair development and position of hair growth, have been critically studied in

different populations. R. R. Gates (Human Genetics, Vol. I, P. 249) has discussed the problem and the sex-linked nature of 'holandric' inheritance.

The affected gene is accepted to have locus in the Y chromosome thus keeping the trait restricted among the males.

Table 11
INCIDENCE OF HAIRY PINNAE

Number tested		Affected individuals		Total
		Mild	Strong	
156	n	32	8	40
	%	20.51	5.12	25.63

Sarkar et al (1961) proposed a detailed classification of hairiness of classification of five categories; Gates, Chakravarty and Mukherjee (1962) adopted another scale of marking hairiness. All these efforts though aimed at development of recording, create problem for other workers. To avoid all sorts of complications the present data were recorded under two distinct categories, "mild" with hair up to five and "strong" with hairs more than five. There was no case of bushy hair development.

As all the subjects were above twenty years, there was very little chance of missing the trait due to non-eruption of hair. It has been reported by other workers, that hair start developing at the age of 18 and remain black even at 80. Stern, Centerwall and Sarkar (1964) again discussed the

problem on its linkage to Y chromosome.

The present Pentia Halva population exhibit 25.63 per cent affected in a sample of 156 males (Table 11). Most of the trait carriers show mild degree of hairiness (20.51 per cent) and only 5.12 per cent show strong development (ranging hair development from 6 to 15).

5. Occipital Hair Whorl

On the lambda region of occiput, hair forms whorl. Sometimes there are two whorls also. This occurrence of whorls has created at least two morphological categories: (i) clockwise or (ii) anti-clockwise; and the two types again in combination produce three possible types of double whorl: (i) both of similar type, i.e., clockwise or anti-clockwise, or (ii) of two different types.

Table 12
TYPES OF OCCIPITAL HAIR WHORL

Single whorl		Double whorl	Total	
Clockwise	Anticlockwise	Clock/anticlock		
n	112	52	4	168
%	66.66	30.95	2.38	99.99

Table 26 presents data of occipital hair whorl examined among 168 male Pentias. Only 2.38 per cent of them possess double whorl in the form of clockwise-anticlockwise. The rest are single whorl. 66.66 per cent of individuals show clockwise and 30.95 per cent show anti-clockwise whorl.

6. Middle Phalangeal Hair (M-P-H)

Use of middle phalangeal hair as genetically controlled trait have been emphasised by many workers. The trait occurs both in the male and female irrespective of connection with sex-hormone. Important contributions have been made by Bernstein and Winner, towards its possible genetic explanation. It is assumed that five sets of alleles are responsible for hair development on five fingers as A0 A1 A2 A3 A4. But these have different

expressivity and also controlled by different modifier genes. So, there occur variety of individuals with varying degree of occurrence of the trait.

Buchi studied age of onset of hair development among the Bengalee school children and found that by 18 years the affected individuals show hair development. Retention of hairs on the middle phalanges depends much on the environmental condition. Loss of hair takes place more quickly and frequently in the tribal and rural communities as these people are more engaged in rough manual work.

In the present sample 172 individuals were examined for occurrence of this trait. Out of this 96 or 55.81 per cent did not show any hair on the middle phalanges.

Table 13
COMBINATION OF DIGITS (BILATERALLY) WITH M-P-H.

Combination		Right hand		Left hand	
		n	%	n	%
O	..	96	55.81	96	55.81
IV	..	20	11.63	12	6.99
III-IV	..	32	18.61	35	20.93
III-IV-V	..	8	4.65	8	4.65
II-III-IV-V	..	4	2.32	4	2.32
II-III-IV	..	4	2.32	4	2.32
IV-V	..	4	2.32	4	2.32
III	..	4	2.32	4	2.32

The affected individuals (44.9 per cent) present an array of varying frequencies in different combinations. In the table on the previous page

(table 13) data on bilateral variation in digit combination are presented. More hairy 4th digits are found on the right hand than on the left; but III digit

with hairs are found more on the left hand. Middle phalangeal hairs are

found to be more frequent on III—IV among all two-digital combination.

Table 14
SYMMETRICAL COMBINATION OF DIGITS WITH M-P-H.

Combination of identical digits of both hands		Frequency of individuals	
		n	%
O	..	95	55.81
IV	..	12	6.99
III—IV	..	32	18.61
III—IV—V	..	8	4.65
II—III—IV—V	..	4	2.32
II—III—IV	..	4	2.32
IV—V	..	4	2.32
- III	..	4	2.32
Total—Symmetry	..	164	95.34
Total—Asymmetry	..	8	4.65
		172	99.99

Identical occurrence on both hand finds an important clue of tracing the range of expression of the genes involved. Presence of symmetry is as high as 95.34 per cent which display nature of more or less uniform bilateral expression (table 14).

The relative proportions of affected digits show 1 : 0.08 : 0.31 : 0.25 ratios in the sequence of IV > III > V > II.

7. Ear Lobe attachment

Study of attachment of the ear lobe as physical characteristic was probably first emphasized by Hilden in 1922, who tried to contradict the popular belief that attached ear lobe is a sign of criminality or mental retardation. Different authors tried to establish the

racial variation of 'free' ear lobe and 'adherent ear lobe'. By free ear lobe it is meant that the lobe is large and hang distinctly free from the lateral margin of face. 'Adherent' or 'attached' ear lobe are usually small lobes or almost no lobe where the border of the ear rim slopes down to meet the face. There, are, of course, several intergradations between these two extremities.

Wiener in 1937 and Powell and Whitney in the same year, published results of their pedigree analysis, which indicated genetic significance of the trait. Some families showed distinctly Mendelian pair with 'free' dominant over the 'attached'. Quelpud (1941) claimed that 'attached' ear lobe "after

sex and age correction" is "really dominant". This observation is negated by Gates as misinterpretation by

statistics. Wiener pointed out that this trait is governed by set of alleles with very 'complicated' action.

Table No. 15

TYPES OF EAR LOBE ATTACHMENT IN THE PENTIA HALVAS

No. Studied		Free	Attached	Intermediate
172	n	120	36	16
	%	69.65	20.93	9.41

Since then the trait has been widely used to show populational variation in genetic attributes. Also extremely simple method of observation has facilitated the study. One difficulty is faced while studying people in tribal localities is that the ear lobes are in most cases of womenfolk and in some cases of the males also are dilated through use of heavy ear ornaments from the early age. None of the males of present study had any distorted ear lobe.

Occurrence of different types of ear lobe among the Pentias is presented in table 15. In a sample of 172 male 69-65 per cent possess 'free' ear lobe while completely adherent or 'attached' type is found among 20.93 per cent individuals. 'Intermediate' category contains persons whose ear lobes are partly attached and its frequency is very low (9.41 per cent). Low frequency of 'intermediate' grade indicates strong dominance of the 'free' ear lobe and also segregation in the genotype level.

8. Limb Dominance :

Member of clasping hand, folding arms, instinctive preference of hand and eye, using one foot while stepping etc. manifest dominance of one limb over the other. This has got no

association with muscular development. Different workers including the present workers have examined critically various aspect of association of these traits in cross sectional as well as family studies. Persons like Pons, Freire-Maia, Weiner, have indicated genetic association of hand clasping and arm folding. But no plausible explanation could yet be furnished. Still these characteristics are widely utilized as genetic traits to delineate population character. Observational methods are not very technical; only caution is taken against behavioural biasness in performing the so-accustomed practices.

A. Personal instinctive habit in clasping both the hands interlocking the fingers, has created a dichotomy in the human population. Some will keep all their fingers of right hand over the corresponding ones of the left hand, and the others will do the opposite. In such cases, the former are known as 'right' hand claspers while the rest being 'left hand claspers'.

Data on all the four categories of limb dominance study are presented in the table 16 (next page). This contains two categories of persons manifesting hand clasping, arm folding, handedness and eye dominance.

The Pentia Halva population exhibits 59·88 per cent of right hand clasper and 40·11 per cent left hand clasper.

Preponderance of right clasper has been marked on all the human populations surveyed all over the world.

Table No. 16
PATTERN OF BILATERAL LIMB DOMINANCE

Side	Hand clasping		Handedness		Arm folding		Eye dominance	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Right	103	59·88	168	97·60	76	44·20	112	65·20
Left	69	40·11	4	2·40	96	55·80	60	34·80

B. *Handedness*—Handedness is a very popular term of denoting preferential use of either hand in performing major operations like eating, writing or throwing. In childhood man is free from any social teaching when they use both the hands equally for all purposes. But through process of socialization, usually the use of left hand for many important purpose are denounced. But a left hander person persists the habit of using left hand (may not be for eating). So under the cover of right handed persons there are many left hand users which are difficult to locate. There are methods of measuring differential powers of hand by dynamometer.

Here a simple method was employed to detect the left hand use, by asking each individual to pick up stones and throw, alternatively by both the hands for three times. The results were recorded as 'R' or 'L'.

Overwhelming majority of individuals of right hand users were found (97·60 per cent) and presented in table 16. In agricultural practices, grip of the plough is usually held by left hand. Though these people are predominantly agriculturist, they exhibit very low frequency of left handed persons, only as 2·40 per cent.

C. *Arm folding*—Like hand clasping, manner of folding arms crosswise over the chest, while standing, makes an interesting behavioural study under genetic control.

Most of the populations studied so far yield a varying frequency of 'right' folder, from less than $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ th majority. The present data show 44·20 per cent of right arm folder, leaving place of majority to the 'leftists' (table 16). An inverse relation of arm folding with hand clasping was suggested. Present data also corroborate the proposition.

D. *Eye dominance*—Use of two eyes are not equal. For normal binocular vision, the distinction is not well marked. But in case of monocular vision or aiming for arrow shooting, one particular eye is utilized. The use is unintentional and an unconscious behaviour. Such use or preference varies from person to person and also from parent to offspring. Though the distinct mode of transmission of this behaviour is yet to be known, the trail makes an worthy survey for its probable association with other limb dominance.

Present sample contains 65·20 per cent person who displayed right eye

preference during the experiment. This makes a striking dissimilarity from other primitive populations of the same region.

9. Comparative lengths of the hand digits.

In human hand, due to evolutionary specialization, several changes have been brought about. Here only digital length will be discussed. As the pollex, minimus and the medius have unchanged order of length, they are taken as reference standard. Only the length of index and annularis vary in different hands and even in two hands of a person. This has created a three formulae classification, known as manual digital formula like $2>4$, $2<4$

and $2=4$. This depends on the comparative lengths of the second and the fourth digits, keeping the third digit or the medius in the centre as referential axis. This also technically written as $d_{32} > d_{34}$, $d_{32} < d_{34}$ and $d_{32} = d_{34}$. Similarly, the varying length of ring finger has created other set of comparative measurements, that with the little finger. The extension of the top of the little finger up to the last interphalangeal joint of the ring finger has again created three fold classification: $4>5$, $4<5$ and $4=5$.

The present data of 172 Pentin individuals for two sets of digital formulae are presented in table below (table 17 and 18,—

Table No. 17

COMPARATIVE LENGTHS OF DIGITS OF HAND (3—DIGITAL FORMULAE)

Side		$2>4$	$2<4$	$2=4$	Total
Right	n	0	164	8	172
	%	0	95.34	4.65	99.99
Left	n	4	152	16	172
	%	2.32	88.37	9.30	99.99
Symmetrical combination				N	160
				%	93.02

91.58% have the formula $4>2$. Whereas only 6.97% have $2=4$. Very low occurrence of $2<4$ is noticed. Taken bilaterally, all three formulae show certain amount of variation. Right hands show 95.34 % of $4>2$ and 4.65 % of $2=4$ fingers, and no $2>4$. This $2>4$ formula are found only on the left hand (2.32). The left hands show lesser frequency of $4>2$ (88.37 %) but higher frequency of $2=4$ (9.30 %).

In total sample, there are high degree (93.02 per cent) of symmetrical occurrence of digital lengths making the asymmetry as low as 6.98 per cent table 17.

Table 18

APPROACH OF THE LITTLE FINGER UPTO THE LAST JOINT OF RING FINGER

side		$5 > 4$	$5 < 4$	$5 = 4$	Total
Right	n	52	42	78	172
	%	30.23	24.41	45.35	99.99
Left	n	64	34	74	172
	%	37.20%	19.76	43.03	99.99
Total symmetrical combination:		n	146		
		%	84.88		

There are also bilateral difference in the digit 4th-5th comparative lengths. Right hand shows 30.23% of $5 > 4$; 24.41% of $5 < 4$ and 45.35% of $5 = 4$. Left hand varies with frequencies of 37.20% for $5 > 4$; 19.76% for $5 < 4$ and nearly equals in case of $5 = 4$ with frequencies of 43.03%. This set of formula also occur uniformly in 84.88% individuals, reducing asymmetric combination only to 15.12%.

10. Comparative lengths of toe or Toe formula (TFO)

Like manual digital projective length, pedal toe projections for 1st and 2nd toes are also very important achievement of man through evolution. The hallux or first toe is heavy and transmits partial body weight for which it diverge in varying degree, under varying conditions. The second toe also performs some important function of load transmission, particularly in a

foot with wide divergent hallux. The varying length of the second toe, again has created three categories of human foot, depending on the equality and inequality in length. Minami in 1952 conveniently designated the three types $1 > 2$ as 'T' or tribal; $1 < 2$ 'F' or fibular $1 = 2$ as 'O' or zero or transitional. Since then these three sets of length is popularly known as TFO formula for toe. Here also the same classification has been adopted and the classified data are given in table 19.

Table 19

COMPARATIVE LENGTHS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND TOES

side		T	F	O	Combination			
					TT	FF	OO	TO
Right	n	144	4	24	120	4	24	24
	%	83.72	2.32	13.95	81.08	2.71	16.20	13.95
Left	n	120	4	48				
	%	69.77	2.32	27.90				

Difference of appreciable nature is noticed between left and right foot in T and O formulae. The right foot showing 83.22 per cent of Tibial type whereas left foot shows 69.77 per cent. Both the feet show remarkable similarity in having Fibular type. Again, left feet have exactly double the number of O type than the right feet.

On the basis of similar occurrence of same type of the pattern on both the

feet, homotype and heterotypic combination have been sorted out. There is high occurrence of feet with TT or both tibial type (81.08 per cent). Next comes feet with OO combination, occurring as 16.20 per cent. FF combination is of very low occurrence 2.71 (per cent). Heterotype combination occurs as TO type only, others are not found to occur. Altogether 13.95 per cent persons could be found having T type in the left foot and O type on the right foot.

Social Movements among Tribes in Eastern India with special reference to Orissa: A preliminary analysis*

L. K. MOHAPATRA

I. Scope of the Enquiry

India, like other developing countries, is facing rapid social, economic and political changes, especially since Independence in 1947. In this vast country with a variety of peoples including ethnic minorities, called "Scheduled Tribes", development has not been uniform. This is a legacy of the history, geography and ethnic background. Under similar circumstances, in Melanesia, Africa and America, social movements have appeared among ethnic minorities, some of them even leading to violence. The objective of the present study is to determine the nature, types, activities, and trends of development of social movements among the Scheduled Tribes in Eastern India in recent years. The emphasis of the study will be on the post-Independence social movements as embodied in

groups or associations among the tribes of Orissa. Eastern India for the purpose of this study comprises of Orissa, West Bengal and Bihar States. As the study is in progress, and most of the social movements covered being in various phases of growth, the present paper is in the nature of a formulation of problems to be investigated further, rather than a definitive statement on the results of the study. Another limitation is that some of the social movements as defined by us have not yet been investigated.

II. Definition and Nature of Social movements.

In a recent sociological outline of social movements, it is noted, "A social movement occurs when a fairly large number of people band together in order to alter or supplant some

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portion of the existing culture or social order "(Cameron, P. 7) or "redistribute the power of control (within a society" (*ibid*, P. 9). In studying social movements one is interested in "examining what some men do when they deliberately attempt to foresee and to direct changes in their culture" (*ibid*, P. 10). Similarly, Heberle conceives social movements as the "direct orientation toward a change in the social order, that is, in the patterns of human relations, in social institutions and social norms" (Heberle quoted in Smelser, P. 110 f. n.) When Ralph H. Turner refers to "Social movement..... fundamentally oriented toward rendering some change in the social structure and of sufficient force to develop organization" (quoted in Smelser P. 313 f. n.), he hits the same thing.

Cameron is careful to point out that his definition above does not pretend to be precise, especially about the number of people, duration, nature of "banding" together or the portion of the culture or social order. Smelser has shed important light on the nature of social movements while developing a theory of collective behaviour. He distinguished between norm-oriented beliefs and value-oriented beliefs, centring which may develop norm-oriented movement and value-oriented movements. A norm-oriented, according to Smelser, seeks to restore, protect, modify, or create norms, whereas a value-oriented movement seeks to restore, protect, modify or create values (pp. 270, 315). Smelser does not commit these movements to "change" in the normative order a kind of norms-economic, religious, political, educational—may become the subject of the movement. A value-oriented movement involves a basic reconstitution of the relations between the self, nature, and society.

On the basis of these observations we may arrive at a working definition

of social movement thus: A Social movement occurs when a fairly large number of people, or an otherwise identifiable segment of the population, deliberately band together for collective action in order to alter, reconstitute, reinterpret, restore, protect, supplant or create some portions of their culture or social order, or to better their life-chances by redistributing the power of control in a society. These movements occasion repeated collective action over a length of time.

Social movements do not produce all the social change in a society. However, there may be a continuum from unobtrusive routine change to that through a social movement. Social movements may or may not involve political action, and also need not necessarily follow from, or culminate in, political parties or associations. However, very often, directly or indirectly, political action is involved.

Social movements do not arise all the time and everywhere. There are some predisposing circumstances, in Smelser's language, some conditions of "structural conduciveness" and conditions of "strain", as well as some "precipitating factors" to account for the emergence of these movements. Dissatisfactions commonly lie at the root of social movements, though all dissatisfactions everywhere do not give rise to social movements. "The special conditions which do lead to the formation of social movements clearly include several factors: (1) Men must consciously recognize their dissatisfactions and share these with others. (2) Men must believe in their own ability to reshape the course of their lives. (3) Men must live under conditions in which the banding together to change something is both possible and plausibly effective" (Cameron, P. 10). An-

other condition may be the sensitivity of leaders to situations of inequality not reducible to differences in wealth or education.

In the context of Messianic movements, Barber arrives at the conclusion that there is a "positive correlation of the Messianic movements and deprivation (of various types)" (Barber quoted in Smelser, P. 13). As "dissatisfaction" remains vague in the above quotation, similarly does Barber fail to specify the type of Messianic movements (many types) as correlated with deprivation of various types.

Though "nearly every identifiable national, racial, or ethnic category has been" represented "by a social movement" (Cameron, P. 42), it requires much more than "dissatisfaction" or "deprivation" to actualize a social movement. Here the remarks of Edwards in another context are very relevant. "Revolutions occur after the repressed classes, for a considerable time, have been in the enjoyment of increasing prosperity. A marked increase of power, intelligence and wealth in the repressed portion of society is a phenomenon invariably found in the period preceding any great revolution" (Edwards quoted in Cameron, P. 40).

Social mobility may be the usual outcome of such movements. But all movements are not directly oriented towards, or expressly striving for, higher social status. However, when the members of a particular social movement are recruited from a specific ethnic, or otherwise identifiable social, category in the position of a minority, status mobility considerations seem to be unavoidable, and very often supply the initial motive force.

III. Social Movement in Eastern India—A Schematic History

Social mobility movements are known to India's lower Hindu castes,

which resulted in Sanskritizing their caste practices. This trend spread to more castes during the British regime when the lower castes got better educational and economic opportunities, legal and political status. These movements became intensified due to the need to vindicate one's (assumed) caste status at the time of census recording every ten years (e.g., The Paundra Kshatriya of Bengal, Dutta Gupta in Sinha, ed.). Communication facilities made wide-scale contacts and organization among far-flung sub-castes in various linguistic regions possible (of Srinivas).

In 19th Century India, tribal groups were not much affected by such mobility movements. There were, however, some social movements in the nature of norm-oriented movements (among the Munda Santal and others) against the Hindu landlords and middlemen who were rackrenting or exploiting them, or dispossessing them of their land, and in the nature of Messianic cults. (e.g., the Tana Bhagat movement among the Oraon of Bihar). Social movements were few and far between.

Deliberately organized collective efforts for higher social status are not met with among the tribes till the Indian National Congress party distributed its workers in the villages in the 1920's and thus brought some tribal groups such as the Bhumij, Kharia, Santal in Bihar and Bengal and the Bhumia and Bhattara in Orissa into direct involvement in national politics. Some tribal workers among the Bhumij (Sinha) and some non-tribal Hindu workers as among the Kharia (Banerjee, 1959, PP. 99-101), has been acquainted with the model of the political party organization and political meetings, and the constructive reformatory work of the Congress. In the case of the Bhumij an organization was started about 1935 to get their claim of Kshatriya (Hindu

warrior caste, next highest to Brahman) status recognized by the upper Hindu castes of the region. The non-tribal workers among the Kharia started welfare activities in 1939 and established branches at two other places, but had to make this welfare organization the vanguard of a Kharia social movement for higher status (that of Hindu Kshatriya, and worshipper of lord Jagannath), better opportunities (land, rehabilitation, education etc.) and to eschew "evils" in their society (like drinking and Criminal activities).

But by and large during the 1930's and thereafter, local self-government and parliamentary democracy, economic and political privileges for tribes and castes, opening of new economic opportunities such as tea gardens, factories, educational facilities and means of rapid communication and transportation, and not least, the living and working together of people of various tribal origins in towns, factories, mines, etc. all these prepared the ground for some sort of social movement in the context of feelings of relative deprivation, inequality, and hence latent dissatisfaction directed against the dominant Hindu neighbours. The newly educated elite were very much in demand by political parties after Independence and consolidated tribal votes could easily act as a pressure group in order to further the ends of tribal group concerned, and by inference, of its elite section. Therefore we find the Bhuiari, the Santal, the Munda, the Gond, the Ho, the Kharia, the Bhattara, the Kond, and the Jatpu—relatively educated and in part Hinduized or Christianized—turning to political action and bargaining as informal pressure groups, political associations, or even as an intertribal political party. Among the lower caste Hindu, although the caste associations developed political dimensions as pressure groups, they never constitu-

ted themselves into an intercaste political party or even formal political associations on the basis of caste.

Simultaneously when social mobility movements were transforming themselves into political pressure groups, as political parties and associations were emerging to take care of inter-ethnic tribal interests, the college and high school students were constituting themselves into student associations of Adivasi on an inter-ethnic level or regional basis. Also some revival of tribal music, dance, and dress (though some-what modified) was being fostered in some areas due to efforts of some erstwhile tribal political workers such as those among the Koya, Matia, Bonda, etc., in Koraput. The most significant development in this type of cultural revivalism seasoned with innovations has been the invention of indigenous scripts among the Saora in South Orissa, earlier among the Jatapu (a more educated, largely Hinduized Kond section in Koraput District) and since the 1940s' among the Santal of North Orissa. But the cultural creativity coupled with some form of revivalism has gone furthest among the Santal. The Santal innovator, a high school graduate who worked among the Santal industrial workers at the foremost steel city, Jamshedpur, has also contributed epics, dramas, songs and re-interpreted Santal religion and magic with moral and spiritual graftings. His followers have printed books, a monthly journal, text books for lower schools in the medium of the script and with a separate system of schools, curriculum, training schools, and specially trained teachers. A Socio-educational and Cultural Association to foster these and a religious organization, Sarna Dharam Samit, to revive old communal worship in a sacred grove and other religious practices, have followed his leadership. Santal traditional dancing, certain forms of marriage etc., and indulgence in pleasure are considered

'evil', or 'sinful'. Thus a great Tradition of Redfield and Singer formulation is just emerging. But this preoccupation with cultural creativity, educational programmes, and religious revivalism are all blessed by, and directly beneficial to, the Jharkhand Party, which fights for a state for the Adivasi (Scheduled Tribes) to be carved out of the states of Bihar, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh (Orans, 1965; unpunished documents, Mahapatra).

Thus, we find the emergence of several varieties of social movements among scheduled tribes after the Independence; a political party on inter-ethnic basis, regional political associations on inter-ethnic basis, pressure groups on ethnic basis as transformed social mobility movements, a revivalistic cultural movement, a cultural creativity and regeneration movement and religious (largely) revivalistic movement as wings of the inter-ethnic political party, and student's associations as pressure groups. These are in addition to social mobility movements as among the Juang, the Kisan, the Bathudi or the Saora in Orissa, which were organized on the lines of regional associations of important local castes for status mobility.

The major tribes of the region, the Santal, the Kond, the Oraon, the Munda, the Saora, the Bhumij, the Ho, the Kharia, the Koya, the Kisan, the Bhattara, the Bhumia, the Bathudi, and even the Juang have already got involved in one or the other categories of social movements. It is not always correct to say that the whole of an ethnic group like the Juang or the Saora are drawn into any such movement, but a particular section especially that which has chosen to live in the plains (of Patnaik) or that which has received education in schools for a long time or the ones assembled at factory cities such as Jamshedpur or Rourkela within the tribal majority

areas. Only such tribes as the Semi-nomadic Birhor or Pahira, who are food gatherers, and some other small tribes like the Dhurwa and Dorla of Western Orissa and Bastar in Madhya Pradesh (Hazra & Thusu in Sinha ed.) do not yet show any development towards social mobility movements or the like.

IV. Types of Social Movements

To construct a typology of so variegated social movements is a formidable task. There are various dimensions, several levels, overlapping bases, and even paradoxical purposes. In most cases we cannot insist on clear-cut exclusive types, but we have to take them as momentous though changing and shifting crystallizations in a continuum of socio-cultural processes. We may here differentiate between six bases of distinction, with their respective types.

- (i) Basis of distinction : Source of initiative.

Types: Endogenous, exogenous.

Description : Though it appears to be a very easy distinction, it actually is not so. For example the Kharia social movement, in the nature of a norm-oriented movement to rectify the wrongs of the local landlords and others and to secure the elimination of the stigma as a criminal tribe, was started by a Kharia political worker in 1951 and since 1952 no activity has been reported (Banerjee 1959, PP. 99). But the permanent Kharia organization, Adim Sabar Jotiya Sabha, started in 1939 by a non-tribal social (political) worker, carried on a social movement of the Kharia by organizing meetings and printing handbills, newspaper reports, etc. In order to boost the social status and economic opportunities of the Kharia as Hindu Sabar Kshatriya. This organization, with

the help of the Hindu Mission, got many Kharis ritually initiated as Kshatriya in 1946 and 1947 (*ibid.*, PP. 100-101). If we deny the character of a social movement to this technically "exogenous" organization, we may be ignoring the crucial realities. Of similar nature is an inter-ethnic political association, Koraput District Adivasi (Scheduled Tribe) Sangha (Association) organized by a communist worker in 1959, but having officials and membership drawn from among the local scheduled tribes, mainly the Kond, and regularly carrying on campaigns against the wrongs of the money lenders, rentiers, and Government, and for securing economic and political opportunities from the Government.

Similarly, when in the early 1950's the All Orissa Tribal Congress was organized on an inter-ethnic level, as a countermove to Bihar's Jharkhand Party claiming sizeable support in North Orissa, the inspiration came from the leaders of the Orissa Congress Party. Though the All-Orissa Tribal Congress was short-lived, it had some impact on the tribal society of Orissa. But this only proves how tenuous such a distinction may be. Whether it be endogenous or exogenous, the tribal elites will have to be involved in any social movement in their society in order for it to be actualized and sustained.

- (ii) Basis of distinction : Orientation to the existing culture or society.

Types : Reactionary ; conservative ; revisionary ; revolutionary ; nativistic (revivalistic or perpetuative) ; revitalization ; reformative.

Description :—The first four types are commonly met with. We may follow Cameron's definitions (*ibid.*, PP. 21-24). "Reactionary movements are those advancing aims which were once held

by the general society but which have subsequently been laid aside", seeking to bring back "the good old days". This type is represented by a single restorative movement among the Munda of Sundargarh who have reverted back to tribal religion from Christianity. "Conservative movements seek to maintain the status quo.....the purposes it holds have for some time been those of the society, but change is taking place, and the movement is organized to obstruct this change." To the extent that the "Sarna Dharam Semlet" or Sacred Grove Religious Organization of the Santal, centred at Jamshedpur, was organised to arrest the drift of the Santal and indirectly, of other tribes of the region towards Hinduism or Christianity, it was a "conservative" movement. "Revisionary movements accept some of the present purposes and methods of the existing order but wish to modify these—change is desired but the existing structure as a whole is not threatened." All the movements organized for "improvement" or "purification" of the culture or social order by eliminating "evil" or "low" customs, beliefs, or institutions, typically, social mobility movements; can be characterised as "revisionary". On the other hand, in revolutionary movements it is not merely certain portions of the culture or the social order, but the whole of it is to be replaced with another more adequate or suitable. This substitution need not refer to the contents or components, but to their organization and orientation. The Sacred Grove Religion in the form it is being popularized is not the traditional religion of the Santal or Munda ; it is a religion infused with a new morality and with new ("Great Tradition") ways of worshipping the old deities; it represents a world-view having very much in common with that of Hinduism, while paradoxically rejecting numerous Hindu practices that had crept in (Oraons, 1965, P. 105). It is a revolutionary social movement

objectively considered, though it is a sheer revival from the Santal's point of view. Similarly, the Jharkhand party, aiming at a new state for the Adivasi, assumes this revolutionary nature. It seeks fundamentally a redistribution of effective power of control and better life-chances of the Adivasis by emphasizing their potential dominance in a region where, divided in smaller ethnic groups, the Adivasis remain subservient to others. Of similar character, rising above petty ethnic differences, is another political association, Koraput District Adivasi Sangha, which seeks to redress the position of the Adivasi as an exploited and suppressed class, very much like the proletariat. Though the Adivasi Socio-Educational and Cultural Association is basically a cultural movement mediated through an indigenous innovation, the Old script, it stands for a new order, a new life through a distinctive pattern of education and curricular. Therefore, this social movement also takes on the revolutionary character.

Following Linton's classification of "nativistic" movements we may arrive at even finer variations of reactionary and conservative movements. For Linton a nativistic movement is "any conscious organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of their culture (Linton quoted in Hogbin P. 230). Starting out with distinctions between "revivalist" and "perpetuative" nativism and between "magical" and "rational nativism, he comes to rational revivalist nativism" and rational perpetuative nativism". The former seeks to accentuate cultural items when the society was "free from foreign or intrusive influences thus helping to maintain self-respect of the members. This is exactly applicable to the revival of old religion, traditions, food habits, etc. which were in vogue before Christian ways penetrated the Munda

Society in Sundargarh district." "Rational perpetuative nativism" stresses the cultural items that symbolize the existence of the society as a separate entity. The distinctive traits, symbols, etc. which were going out of fashion in Santal society were seized upon for marking them off from the neighbouring Hindu society.

At the other extreme, there may be "revitalization movement" as conceived by Wallace, that is, "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace quoted in Smelser, P. 120), or social order. This closely resembles what Cameron designated "revolutionary" and Smelser called "value oriented". However, an intermediate category such as "revisionary" or "reformative" is called for on empirical grounds.

- (iii) Basis of distinction : Portion of culture or social order dealt with.

Types: Norm-oriented movements; general social movements; value-oriented movements.

Description: According to Smelser, norm-oriented movements are concerned with the norms or regulatory principles-specific facilities to be secured, obstacles removed; value-oriented movements, however are concerned with values or "the most general statements of legitimate ends which guide social action" (P. 26), with a worldview or ideology (see section II above). He notes that many agitations commonly designated as "social movements" or "reform movements" are actually norm-oriented movements. The agitation to abolish the specific Ashram (residential with craft orientation) to schools in Orissa by the educated politicized tribal elite is a norm-oriented movements. Similar is the case with the Kharia agitating to be eliminated from the list of criminal tribes, or the

Bhumij taking collective action to secure recognition as Kshatriya and exclusion of the Bhumij from the list of Scheduled Tribes.

Smelser distinguished movements oriented towards specific norms from those more general social movements which possess "neither sufficiently crystalized beliefs nor a sufficient degree of mobilization to fall in the category of collective outbursts. Rather they provide a back-drop from which many specific norm-oriented movements emanate" (P. 273). Such general social movements are, for instance, labour movements leading to specific agitations for normative change such as shorter hours, or the humanitarian movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries leading to the abolition of slavery and the like. Similarly "general" may be considered some social movements incorporated in District Adivasi Associations of Kalahandi and Koraput, All-Orissa Adivasi Congress, or the Adim Sabar Jatiya for the Kharin.

Smelser gives some examples of value-oriented belief informing value-oriented movements : . Marxism-Leninism, Nazism, religious and secular beliefs associated with cults of withdrawal, beliefs associated with "nativistic" movements, those behind "revitalization" movements, beliefs associated with religious secession, nationalist beliefs (as frequently crippling Asian, African and Latin American societies), or millenarian cults (P. 120). "Value-oriented beliefs contain a vision of future harmony and stability—which is in direct contrast of the here-now decay and instability" (P. 123). Considered from this angle, the Jharkhand Party, the Sarna Dharam Semlet, and the Adivasi Socio-Educational and Cultural Association tend to participate severally and jointly in such a value-oriented movement in creating an inter-ethnic sub-nationali-

stic entity, "Adibasi" a state dominated by the Adivasi, etc. Similarly, though implicitly, the Communist-organised Koraput District Adibasi Sangha strives to bring about a new world of Marxist hue by passing resolutions and organizing agitations about peasant and labour problems, problems of peace in the world and solidarity of the Adivasi overriding all ethnic differences, etc. Another movement of this type was raising for several years in the 1940' and 50's among the Gond and others in southern U. P., Western Bihar and eastern Madhya Pradesh. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's teachings, a Gond lady saint sought to reorient and refine Gond religion, magic and social customs. It had limited success (Mahapatra, 1956, Majumdar).

When some erstwhile Christian Munda of Sundargarh or some Kond of Phulbani organize a movement to reconvert the tribesmen to their old Munda religion or to a compromise between Hinduism and Kond religion, the movements are nothing but value-oriented.

(iv) Basis of distinction : Relation to religion or cult.

Types: Religious; Secular (indifferent to religion).

Description: Though there are only 3 movements which may primarily be called "religious" the others in overwhelming proportion are primarily secular. This means that often a religious movement does have a secular dimension or aspect and vice-versa.

(v) Basis of distinction: Political action.

Types : Political : Nonpolitical : Rivalistic.

Description: As is apparent, the present social movements have been in almost all cases either political or

quasi-political in character—Those which are expressly political: a party, Adivasi associations at the all Orissa or District level. The political associations do not seek changes focussed on the members only, but also on the society at large, aiming ultimately at redistribution of power. The ones thinly veiled as non-political are: the Cultural Association for the Santal, where it is specifically provided in the constitution that active members of any political party cannot hold any office in the Association; the Sarna Dharam Samlet, and the Adivasi students' association at the all Orissa or District level. There are a few others such as the Bhumij Kshatriya Association, which were originally not organized as political groups, but at present and in this case since 1958, have had to reorient their thinking and action in order to co-operate with politicized groups for common objectives regarding the Adivasi. The social mobility movements and the other two religious movements are either already to some extent politically involved at the local, district or State level, or are potentially so as pressure groups for their special interests.

Finally, we must give some attention to the peculiar phenomenon of rivalry between two associations or movements, so much so that one owes its very existence to the other. This is true of the two associations, political in nature, serving the same general cause of economic, political opportunities and solidarity of the Adivasi population of Koraput district. One of them was inspired by the Communists and the other by the National Congress. It is irrelevant that the latter was also the spokesman for the Bhuttara, an ethnic group, in its efforts to be accepted as a scheduled tribe. Similar is the Juxtaposition of the All Orissa Adivasi Congress against the

Jharkhand Party. Such Secondary movements born in rivalry with personalities or political parties may be called rivalistic. A similar rivalistic movement has given rise to another reformative association of the Kond in Phulbani in recent years.

(vi) Basis of distinction: Orientation as minority:

(vii) Types: Emulation-reinforcing movements; solidarity-reinforcing movements.

Description: This distinction is based on highly fruitful insights into the evolving social movements in Santal society, developed by Orans (1959—1965).

Orans finds that in the 19th century the richer, traditional hereditary elite were already trying to emulate the higher caste Hindus. After the failure of the 1955—57 Santal revolt the process of Hinduization became stronger, "perhaps in part because the path to higher rank through military force and political action seemed closed". A Hinduized sect under the Kherwar (the heroic name of the Santal) movement adopted the sacred thread and other distinctive Hindu symbols of high rank and gave up meat-eating (Orans, 1965 PP. 36-37). However, there were counter forces to resist assimilation even in this sectarian manner which strengthened along with the emergence of educated Santals and the opening of a "political rank path" after provincial democracy was introduced in the 1930's and parliamentary seats were reserved for tribes like the Santals. This avenue to political privileges and consequent gains in the economic and social status could be widened and maintained only if the solidarity of the Santal ethnic group were developed and if they made common cause on important issues. We have already noted

the invention of a script for the Santal and reorientation of the tribal religion and initiation of the powerful cultural movements. The educated and largely Christianized tribal elite of South Bihar from Munda, Oraon and Santal groups seized upon this ferment and soon after Independence formed the Jharkhand party of the Scheduled Tribes with the avowed objective of founding a State for the Adivasi.

Thus, while there were emulation-reinforcing movements in the 19th century and early 20th century under the leadership of wealthy aristocratic leadership, since the days of democratic opportunities and constitutional privileges for the Adivasi, especially since Independence, solidarity-reinforcing movements have taken their place in Santal and some other tribes in South Bihar and North Orissa. This solidarity is sought not merely on the level of the specific ethnic group by emphasizing distinctive characteristics, customs and institutions, but also on an inter-ethnic level, that of the generalized "Adivasi" as a minority.

The same process is known to have occurred among the Bhumij, on whom detailed documentation is available. The emulation oriented movement seeking to incorporate the Bhumij in Hindu society as Kshatriya under the Bhumij-Kshatriya Association was dramatically renamed Bhumij-Adivasi Kshatriya Association in 1958 (Sinha). The story is repeated among the Kharia of West Bengal who are striving for solidarity and distinctive self-identification as opposed to the emulation of the Hindu society (Banerjee, 1962).

All the political association of the Adivasi at the district or State level, the Adivasi Students' Associations at the district and State level, are also solidarity-reinforcing movements, to

attain the inter-ethnic solidarity of the Adivasi.

However, there are some emulation-oriented social mobility movements confined to a specific ethnic group or its particular section, as among the Juang, Kond, Gond, Bathudi, Kisan, etc. Even in the Santal society in some interior areas, such as that of Madhupur in Purulia district, such emulation-reinforcing movements are still going on (Banerjee and Dasgupta in Sinha ed).

These several typologies given above do not bring out all the dimensions of the social movements among the Scheduled Tribes of Eastern India. A large movement may fall in several "types" at the same time as there may be differential orientation to different sections of the existing culture; as it grows, it tends to embody several purposes for different sections of the supporters.

V. Organization of Social Movements

We may consider here recruitment of members, leadership, and mechanisms of communication. We find two ways of recruitment of new members: exclusive membership is the rule in secret societies, and in social mobility movements membership is confined to a specific ethnic group or class or its section; in some political associations, there is provision for non-tribal members with whom the movement superficially appears to be not a closed one. A proselytizing movement sends out missionaries to gather new members and this characterizes the religious and cultural associations started among the Santal, Munda and Kond, though restricted on principle to the Adivasi; coercive movements like the trade unions claiming to represent some whole category of people, are

not developed among the Adivasi on formal level, though informally in certain localities such coercion is not ruled out for solidarity-oriented political associations, especially imbued with a powerful ideology.

There is such ingrained force of ethnic loyalties that the political associations with an ideology have to upbraid their member to rise above such petty loyalties to achieve the solidarity of the Adivasi as a whole. Though membership is theoretically open to all Adivasi in many movements, as in the Sarna Dharam Semlet or other cultural associations as well as in political associations, the core membership is still drawn from some particular ethnic group and in a particular area.

As has been noted in Sections II and IV, some of the movements have been started by individual leaders, such as Raj Mohini Devi among the Gond, Raghunath Murmu among the Santal, Jaipal Singh among the Adivasi of Chotanagpur and Northern Orissa. These leaders have risen to power and influence by inspiring loyalties through personal qualities and achievements. The leadership they exercised may be called "charismatic", following Max Weber. Similar is the leadership of Sukra Tilming Munda, Manki Munda of Sundargarh who is converting Munda and some other Adivasi Christians back to the tribal religion and customs. It is found that in the cultural associations started by Murmu or the Munda Sabha (Association), started by followers of Sukra T. M. M. Munda, the leaders themselves do not retain formal authority but pass on the routine responsibilities to trusted disciples. As, however, the cultural associations started by Murmu have grown very large, with headquarters and branches at district, subdivision, pargana, or

even village level, bureaucratization is inevitable. With division of labour and responsibilities, maintenance of records and accounts, propaganda and extension activities, recruitment of members, election of office-holders, enforcement of Sarna code, holding of conference, etc., there is bound to be "routinization of charisma", not merely devolution or decentralization of authority. As Cameron notes, "Leadership of movements of ten proceeds rapidly from Charisma to legal or traditional authority" (P. 92).

When we come to the political associations, we meet with only one charismatic leader, Jaipal Singh, a Christian Oxford educated Munda, who was hailed as Marang Gomke (the Great Esteemed one). He in turn conferred on Murmu the honour of being addressed as Guru Gomke the Esteemed Guru. In Jaipal Singh's Jharkhand Party, bureaucratization set in early. There were the central office, district and subdivisional offices, with the paraphernalia of election and office-holders. This was also to be found in other political as well as cultural associations. The typically social mobility movements are also organized on the lines of a corporation or political party organization, the master model being the National Congress Organization.

In all of the movements discussed the literate, educated members have assumed leadership, except in the case of the Gond religious movement where the saint lady was illiterate. While in political and cultural associations the leadership, whether charismatic or bureaucratic always rested on the shoulders of the educated emergent elite drawn from traditional leaders as well as commoners' families, the social mobility movements have had a different origin. As in the case of

the Bhumij, Gond, Santal, Kisan, Munda, and Kharia movements, both traditional leaders and some educated young man guided the affairs, and if the movement were older, the traditional leaders dominated. When we came to the post-Independence era, when solidarity and ethnic distinctiveness as against the neighbours were emphasized, the role of the emerging educated elite, became more important and even crucial. Students, especially of high schools and lately of colleges, have played an important role in social movements among the Kharia, Santal, Oraon, and many other groups.

We may as well as here refer to non-tribal leaders in social movements, who are emulated by the tribal elite to be in a position to take over leadership. Cameron evaluates the situation realistically. "People who are really down-trodden do not often form political movements, or indeed anything, except escape movement...Where movements have emerged representing the depressed classes in a society they have often been led by people of higher status and financial support has often come from outside" (Cameron, P. 39).

Since Independence, written statements, handbills, appeals, and books specially prepared in the manner of Hindu epics, myths, etc. in regional scripts or their own script, opera, drama in their own languages, other symbols of identification like flags of distinctive designs, badges, and even special form of saluting have been used in some social movements, political or not. Processions, meetings and conferences with delegates from several regions, entertainments with cultural shows, managed with a corps of volunteers all these reflect the scale as well as the ramifications of a large

movement, which we come across in the Jharkhand Party, Cultural Associations of the Santal, mobility movements of the Kisan, and others. Proceeding of the conferences or annual meeting are printed and distributed, often in their own languages.

Another development is also visible. All the movements in the form of political party or association or ethnic group association (for social mobility) or cultural associations want to claim a larger share of grants and other facilities from the Government and official agencies. There is invariably a heightened spurt of activities, printing and distributing of memoranda and bulletins, tendering of application and statements, etc. whenever a commission or important committee is appointed by the Central Government. Such were the Backward Classes Commission in 1953-55, the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission in 1960-61, and lately, the Lokur Committee in 1966 to determine the desirability of retaining certain ethnic groups in the category of scheduled tribes.

As the present educated leadership stands to gain in every way if the grants, subsidies, and other economic and political privileges are maintained or increased, there is constant pressure on the Government through all types of social movements. Indeed, it is suspected, to be corroborated by further investigations, that some groups or associations are formed just before an important commission or committee visits the area, so that these bodies may be recognized as the spokesmen of the specific area or people and as the recipients of forth-coming governmental favours and assistance. There is thus the clear possibility that the efforts of

social mobility movements so far as they seek a high status in the Hindu society, to be recognized by the Hindus will be frustrating. For, continuing to claim privileges of the Adivasi largely runs counter to the requirements of high caste status. The Gond, who are accepted as a high caste in many areas of Orissa, are facing the same dilemma, as they are included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. What is called by Orans "emulation-solidarity conflict" may become more widespread or intensified under certain circumstances, that is, if the Hindu society does not recognize the anomalous status of Hindu Adivasi like Hindu Sabar (Kharria) or Adivasi Kshatriya (Bhumij), and if wealth, education, and occupation do not reinforce the old, or produce new cleavages in specific tribal societies or at the interethnic Adivasi level, to be exploited by political parties.

Problems for Study

In this rapid, preliminary survey it has not been possible to scratch the surface of some fundamental problems concerning social movements. Under what predisposing circumstances and precipitating factors do social movements of a particular type arise? What is the relation between different types of movements in a specific region? Why in this particular place or moment? Why do some food gatherers and other backward societies not initiate social movements except perhaps some form of rebellion or secret society or cult of withdrawal?

Oran, says, creative cultural movements emerged in a particularly acute phase of emulation-solidarity conflict among the Santal (1963, PP. 103-104). Is it true in other tribal and non-tribal societies also? What is the pattern of relationship between the traditional ascription-oriented and

morden achievement-oriented elite and how does this complex relationship affect the directions of a social movement? What is their differential role in the emergence and development of a Great Tradition? What role does the differential perception of social realities and life-chances play in the emergence of social movements?

It is hoped that in further studies some of these problems will be taken up and tackled.

Strategy Implications for Tribal Development.

Many agencies are working amongst and for the development of the tribes with various objectives in view. These objectives are not necessarily against the interests of the tribesmen as conceived by their elites, with power and authority vested by tradition, or with prestige and influence acquired through education or manipulation of the administration or welfare agencies. To what extent and in which ways, these objectives are whole-heartedly accepted or even understood to be in their ultimate interests by the benighted masses among the tribes, this is another matter. But this need not pose a serious problem to the administrators or policy makers. For, till the masses are educated and conscious of their own interests to some extent, the elites will have to fulfil their essential roles of leadership and guidance, and we have to accept this situation for a pretty long time. And we must remember the cardinal principles of social and cultural autonomy of the tribal peoples, to which our Indian state is committed. If the leaders want the society and culture to develop in a particular way, others should have hardly any room for objection. The only limitations in their strivings should be those already imposed by our constitution.

The point to be clarified here is the concept of leadership. Without going into details, we may differentiate the strictly speaking political representatives in the parliamentary system of democracy, from the wider group of elites, who exercise functions of leadership in other fields including the political field. The democratic representatives need not always be involved in all the social movements within a tribal Community or amongst several tribal communities, whom they are supposed to represent. To cite only one recent example let us take the widespread and deepseated movement of the Bhuiyan women against distilleries and clandestine liquor sales ruining their economy and family life in the late 1960's. The local M. L. A. not only did not do anything about it, but also, he was unaware of this. And even if he personally sympathized with this movement, he

could not have done anything, if such public sympathy or action would run counter to the party policy to which he must conform in a party-based democracy. Similarly, other movements to revitalize or reform the social customs or cultural practices may leave the political representatives high and dry. But, the administrators and policy makers should attach importance to these social movements as conscious attempts to develop the tribal groups in their own ways, largely through mobilization of their own resources. They should also not hesitate to further, facilitate, or reinforce these attempts as much as possible, if these fall in line with the national objectives. For example, in extending educational facilities and in fighting bonded labour or other forms of concealed exploitation, such social movements can be of great and immediate help.

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Liquor among the Dongria Kondh of Orissa

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The Dongria Kondh are one of the most primitive and backward tribes of Orissa. They are easily distinguished by their very quaint attire, the males clad in loin cloth wearing nose rings over their moustaches and sometimes in addition, a sharp and polished white bone thrust through the cartilage of the nose, two long and curved daggers hanging down the thighs and by their proud and dignified bearing. They are a sub-tribe of Kondh numbering about 5,618 most of whom have not been touched by census operation. They live on the top of the Niyamgiri mountains which lie in the Kalyansinghpur, Bissam-Cuttack, Muniguda and Biswanathpur Blocks in the Koraput district and in the Lanjigarh area of the Kalahandi district. They maintain themselves by growing a lot of plantain, jackfruit, orange, pineapple, turmeric and castor all of which they make over to the people of the Domb Caste for a song, a few pegs (drinks) of illicitly distilled liquor, or a few rupees or their usual requirements of salt, tobacco, dried fish, clothes, ornaments, etc. Shifting cultivation, being their main occupation they grow millet,

kosla and kandul (red gram) which they consume. As the mountains are sparsely populated and the Dongria Kondh owe all the hill slopes demarcated by unwritten tribal custom among the different villages there and are traditionally reputed as fruit growers they should, in the fitness of things be rich but they live in ramshackle huts in poverty and squalour. The Dongria Kondh are wretchedly poor because they are not able to market their produce at any reasonable price. Some people of the Scheduled Caste, Domb (also called Pano elsewhere) generally hailing from Kalahandi have settled down among them on the hills and taking advantage of the inaccessibility of the area, the simplicity of the Dongria Kondh, their ignorance, superstition, weakness for drink, lack of credit facilities, their isolation from the rest of the world, have been exploiting the Kondh to an unimaginable degree and carrying away all the produce from their trees and their fields.

Whatever may be the fact, the high terrain upon which the Dongria Kondh inhabit, the topography, the climatic factor, etc. have shaped their living

conditions and made them perpetual drunkards. The very savour of Mahua-liquor (*Ipi Kalu*) and sago palm juice (*Mada-kalu*) make the Kondh almost wild. Liquor has special charm for them. Except a few, all are habituated to drink and will avail any opportunity irrespective of the distance of either liquor shop or sago-palm-trees and condition of the purse. They are so much addicted to it that they can forego their meals. For example, an old man of Kurti village said "salpa tree is more than my wife, I can forego my wife but not the salpa-tree."

Types and Processing of Liquor

Liquor is locally called *Kalu*. Various kinds of liquor are brewed domestically such as *Arkhi-Kalu* (Mahua—liquor) *Amba-Kalu* (Mango liquor), *Panasa-Kalu* (Jackfruit-Liquor), *Kadali-Kalu* (plantain liquor) and *Gada-Kalu* (Molasses liquor). Sago palm juice (*Mada—Kalu*) an intoxicating drink is collected from locally available sago—palm—trees.

Arkhi is secretly brewed, but not in large scale. Domestic brewing being prohibited the Kondh are afraid of local preparation and therefore, depend upon the market and their next door neighbours, the Domb. The Domb are experts in brewing Arkhi and make it a professional source of income. Some of the Domb purchase Arkhi from the licentiate liquor shops at the foot of hills and resell it in their respective villages at a higher cost. The Kondh also on special occasions like *Mandia-Rani* festival *Meria-Parab*, marriage and death ceremonies etc, brew *Arkhi* secretly with the help of the Domb.

Mahua is purchased at the rate of 75 N. P. from the local market or collected from the forest. About 5 to 6 kg. of Mahua is kept in water in an earthen-pot for a week or until it is

fermented after which it is rinsed and kept in another pot. About a bucket of water is poured and another clay pot is dumped over it. The pot at the bottom is entirely plastered at the outside with clay. An oven is prepared at the bank of the stream and both the pots are placed over the fire. A hole is made at the body of the pot placed below through which one end of a hollow bamboo is inserted. Another end of the bamboo is similarly inserted in another pot placed on the ground beside the fire-pot. Inside that pot herbs of *Badhuni* (Broom-stick), roots of *Paintira* tree are kept and a napkin is covered over the rim of the pot. Clay is besmeared over that pot also. Thus with proper heat smoke is formed which does not get an outlet to go out but passes through the hollow bamboo to the other pot placed nearby. Cold water is sprinkled over the body of the pot to cool the heated smoke which ultimately turns into water and becomes liquor. It gets more intoxicated with the addition of various herbs and roots, stated earlier.

The same process is adopted while preparing liquor from other types of fruits and molasses. Fruit-liquor is prepared out of ripe variety and only after extraction of juice. More the Juice is fermented, the more it is intoxicated. The same roots and herbs are also added to it to make it palatable and more intoxicant. Liquor from the fruits and molasses is prepared only by the well-to-do families and as such it becomes a luxuriant alcoholic drink. Sometimes, a few families prepare this type of seasonal liquor and sell it to others if there is any surplus.

Duri Kalu (Beer) is prepared out of rice, *ragi*, *arka*, and *kangu*. Raw seeds are made powder and diluted with water to make a paste. The paste being

covered in a *Siati* leaf-cup is kept hanging for a fortnight to make dry completely. Within this estimated period the paste dries up which can be broken into pieces. Each piece is again made powder and soaked with water in a container for 8 to 10 days. This process enriches the alcoholic value and makes it more suor. Thus after 8 to 10 days a sediment is formed at the bottom and the water over it is used as *Duri-Kala*. When the first stock is exhausted again water is poured and kept for 8 to 10 days. Thus the process continues for two months after which the sediment loses alcoholic value.

Excepting these country-made liquors, Sago-Palm Juice (Juice of *Salpa* trees) is used as intoxicant. *Salpa* trees wildly grow on the top of the hills and are possessed individually according to the customary division of hill teras. These trees are considered priced possession of the family which are inherited since generations. Trespassing into any body's tree is seriously viewed to the extent that the trespasser may risk his life. However, the shoots of the tree come out only from the month of October-November and remain upto March-April without being withered away and within that period ample juice is available from each shoot. Each shoot is cut and the juice trickles down in a container, tied beneath it. The juice at the increasing heat of the sun accumulates more of alcoholic substance and becomes more intoxicating. Moreover, to add to it more alcoholic value, roots of *Koda* plant, *Kanikutra*-plant and broom-stick plant are added to it. The entire process gives a tremendous alcoholic relief and at the same time fulfils the appetite of the consumers, as it is told.

Toddy-tapping is not a common practice in the area because of less growth of such trees. Moreover, the local people are not conversant either

in climbing the trees or in tapping the toddy. The experts are therefore, called upon in exchange of wage to tap the toddy from the limited trees, mainly found in the forest.

Customs, Norms, belief and Practice associated with the use of liquor.

Liquor in any form is not socially prohibited irrespective of sex and age. A child picks up the habit, when he develops senses. It is a common practice approved by the society. Mahua-liquor is considered to be the bit alcoholic drink and taken through out the year irrespective of sex. Fruit liquor is seasonal and taken only by those who can afford to prepare or afford to purchase at the rate of Rs. 2 per bottle. Beer is taken only during harvest of various crops. Sago-palm juice is taken for four months.

Usually the male members are habitual drunkards and consume more. The females drink only during harvest and on social feasts and festivals. Children, above six years of age, generally drink sago-palm juice and casually drink Mahua-liquor.

During and after harvest, the people celebrate most of their social and religious functions and therefore consume liquor to a larger extent. But its consumption becomes less during lean months when the people face acute economic distress. Despite paucity of fund, the habitual drunkards do not hesitate to drink by incurring loans or mortgaging their cropped field and fruit bearing trees.

Liquor is always taken in a group. The eldest one serves it to others in leaf-cups. From the share the eldest member first offers a little of it to the Mother-goddes (*Basumati*) and pours it on the ground. Then he trickles the liquor thrice in his fingers above his head. This he officers to *Niyam Raja*,

the great God of Niyamgiri hills. After offering he touches the leaf cup in his forehead and drinks. Once he starts, other follow him. Even in individual consumption the same norms are observed. In case of sago-palm juice, the owner of the tree first sips to prove that it is not poisonous and then offers to the participants. In case of trespassing, the defaulter is assaulted. It is a belief that, if the trespasser dies after taking sago-palm juice he becomes Dumba (ghost) and victimises the owner.

Liquor is a must in all the Kondh worship. There is hardly any religious ceremony or ritual in which Mahua liquor is not used. Each family believes that liquor is not only religious necessity but a means to please gods. The priest must be drunk well before probing himself in the spiritual world. Liquor is, therefore, offered to gods as well as to the priest.

Liquor is an important item in all the ceremonies connected with death. On the day of 'Dasha' (10th day of the death), mourners assemble and drink with fullest content.

Liquor has religious and social significance in the marriage ceremony too. It is a prestigious issue both for the parents of bride and groom. It is included in bride price's item and on the other hand the bride's father is also to entertain large number of guests with liquor. Barrels of liquor are consumed in the marriage ceremony. Liquor is offered to *Niyam Raja*, *Sita Penar* and other deities in the marriage ceremony. The leaf-cup moves round, round and round till every one has drunk to his full capacity. Their financial conditions determine the quantity to be supplied. On average Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 are spent on liquor at the time of marriage by both the parties.

Mahua liquor has a still more important place in the Kondh's social life. A leaf-cup-full of liquor is a medium of social intercourse. It creates and sustains friendship. It is through which Sri System (Bond friends) is made and two friends became bosom to each other. Old friends' accidental meeting culminates in a mutual exchange of liquor cups. A casual meeting between two strangers at the liquor-shop may lead to permanent friendship. A happy drink is the best form of approachment between strange neighbours or friends. All hospitality and reception have got no meaning without liquor. Liquor is an energetic solace for all dance and festivals. All the Kondh dances, therefore begin with drink. Not only men, but women also drink to enjoy the happy moment. It is main item in tribal feasts. In the Panchayat meetings, the participants are more keen for drinking than to the usual proceedings. The whole village, however meets the expenditure on drink in case the Panchayat has to decide an inter-village dispute. In most of their verdicts the Panchayat awards penalty of a communal feast and drink.

In actual practice magic and drink are interlinked among the Kondh. A *Dishari* (Magician) or a *Bejani* (shaman) must drink excessively for it is believed that a magician invokes his mysterious wisdom and probes into the world of evil spirits with the help of liquor. Most of his magical operations are preceded by drink. He is not paid in cash but in the form of liquor.

Mahua liquor is used as medicine to cure various disease. The Kondh believe that disease are not due to any infection or contagion, but due to the arrogance of various deities and spirits who are looming in nature. In order to prevent or cure these natural diseases, benevolent gods and goddesses must be propitiated and appeased. To appease them liquor is indispensable.

Thus liquor plays a vital role in the tribal life. The Kondh feel that sago-palm juice and Mahua-liquor have got food value. Fresh distilled liquor has got more food value. Liquor is an energetic stimulant which breaks the monotony and a food which satisfies the starving belly. It is a recognized means of relaxation and lessening strain. Being shifting-cultivators, they undertake enough of hazardous jobs. They ransack the forests to eke out their livelihood. They ascend and descend the hill-tops by going and coming from the fair-price and market centres. All these strains are to be lessened and liquor is therefore, a charming energetic drink for all these strains.

Drinking and its effect

About 82 per cent of the families surveyed were found having deficit budget, though it has not been possible to establish any direct relationship between debt and drink yet it is obvious that if expenditure on liquor could be reduced, many families could balance their budget. I recorded 92 transactions of the Dongria Kondh with the Domb. Nearly 68, i.e., about 73 per cent of the transactions were in return of liquor. The Domb illicitly distilled liquor, offered it to the Kondh and took leases of jack fruit trees, and sometimes change trees and pine-apple gardens in return of liquor. In one instance $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of turmeric field was leased out for pineapple garden was leased out for a year in return for 25 bottles of liquor. In another 12 jack-fruit trees were leased out for a year for 7 bottles of liquor. In another instance $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of pineapple garden was leased out for a year in return for 10 bottles of liquor. In majority of the cases, liquor has been sought in exchange of jack fruit and orange trees. The inter-village streets are occupied by the Domb with tins of liquor during market days. They secretly sit at the back of the

bushes and entice the Kondh with liquor bottles. All the surplus produces brought by the Kondh are knocked off by the Domb in exchange of liquor. The Domb are well informed of each feast and festival of the Kondh. They, therefore, before the commencement of any function of any family in the village pre-contract with the owner to supply the required quota of liquor. The owner gets the exact requirement at his threshold but cannot pay the cost. He mortgages his fruit-bearing trees, orchard or turmeric field. During harvest, the yield is carried away by the Domb before the tumultuous eyes of the Kondh.

I recorded seven cases of accidents, who sustained vital injuries by taking liquor. Of course, there was no case of death. But out of seven cases, three cases are grave; the injured persons become invalid.

I recorded five cases where trespassers have been assaulted. Especially, one case, requires mentioning. It was a chilly night in the month of December. I had to open the door of my camp at the screaming sound of a man. I flashed my torch over him and found with astonishment that his entire body was in pools of blood. The pharmacist in charge of Primary Health Centre was called upon who rushed in and gave all possible medical relief. The victim was Tode Zakiska who trespassed for sago-palm juice and was assaulted by his uncle, Kona Zakiska of village Khambesi. When Tode was drinking the juice stealthily, Kona's son Budda saw it and intimated the matter to his father. Both father and son charged Tode for his fault but the latter did not admit. There were some altercations and ultimately Tode was severely assaulted with the axe (Tangia). The matter was reported to the police. Two police constables appeared in the village on the next morning who arrested both the alleged

and the victim. The case was decided on the way to the police-station with the intervention of village messenger (Barik). They were released. It was told that Rs. 120 was bribed to the police and the Barik got Rs. 38 as commission. Again a meeting was convened on emergency footing at the village level. Both the alleged and the victim were fined Rs. 80 which perhaps could provide the cost of a buffalo. The buffalo was supplied by the Barik and a feast was organized and the matter came to an end with the rapprochement of both the victor and the vanquished. Such instances of criminalities for taking Mahua liquor and sago-palm juice are frequent. There are also instances of in-group fighting, over the issue of taking liquor.

Thus the social evils of drink are glaring among the Dongria Kondh. The erotic effect of alcohol leads to many maladjustments in the family. Moreover, the liquor-dealer is often a money-lender, who also procures the surplus forest and agricultural products of the tribals. He is interested mainly in keeping the tribals in an easy prey to his tricky dealings.

However, alcoholic drink is a great social evil, which is gradually eroding the economy of the community. But without that the community cannot survive. It is a fact that the tribals do drink and drinking in the tribal culture is a must but not an alternative choice, as it gives them nourishment and zest in life. It is therefore, necessary that the Anthropologists and the Administrators should seriously think of this problem.

To combat this liquor-dealing-monopoly of the Domb, the marketing centres under Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation Ltd., may act as wholesale supplier of liquor to the tribals. The Domb may be appointed as Commission Agents to deliver liquor to the tribals at a rate fixed by the centre. This may reduce exploitation to some extent. In the meanwhile a team of workers may be appointed to analyse the benefits and potentialities of the drink usually purchased by the tribals. Through research an unarmful drug may be invented to substitute alcoholic drink to solve the liquor problem of the tribals.

Study on Hypoxia of high attitude among the Tibetan refugees in Orissa

S. PATEL

Growth difference, which are racial in character, result generally in an overall increase or decrease in the rate of growth with probably little effect on sequence or rate at specific ages (Roberts, 1960). Further more, environmental factors, particularly disease and nutrition, are often quite specific resulting in severe retardation of growth under adverse conditions and accelerated growth under favourable conditions (Tanner, 1962). Temperature or imotional states may also effect growth, but such environmental stresses are considered to be secondary being primary attributed to nutritional stress.

Among the environmental stress, which have not been investigated in relation to human growth is the hypoxia produced by living at high altitudes. Studies on animal growth under condition of hypoxia show

rather severe retardation of normal growth (Van der & Stickney, 1963). Yet insufficient data on human growth throw some light on definite conclusions. Growth studies on two Peruvian populations living slightly above 3,000 meters showed them to be quite retarded in adolescent development compared to European groups (Schraer and Newman, 1958 Quevedo 1949).

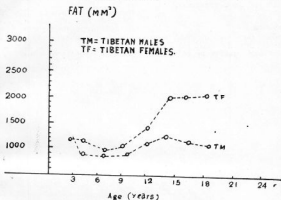
Sample and Method

The sample under study, represent Tibetan refugees at Chandragiri resettlement Camp, district Ganjam, Orissa.

Height and weight were collected from among 133 males and 113 females between the ages of 1 and 23. In addition 36 males and 43 females between 23 and 35 years of age were included as an adult sample.

FIG. 1

BRACHIUM FAT: TIBETAN REFUGEES.



Estimation of the mid-brachial cross. Sectional area of fat was made after the methods of Baker, Hunt and Sen (1958). The sample for these measurements comprises of 69 males and 66 females ranging from 1 to 25 years of age.

Discussion and Results

(a) *Stature and Weight*—With regard to the development of stature and weight among the Tibetan children, there is late development of sexual dimorphism. A statistically significant difference between the sexes does not develop until after age sixteen. Increase in stature and weight continues for the females until

near twenty at which it stabilizes. From the table 1, it is evident that, the women are quite stable throughout young adulthood showing no further increase even in weight. Males also show a stability in the growth of stature at about twenty but in contrast to the women, the data on young adult males indicate a slight continued rise in weight.

(b) *Fat*—The cross sectional areas of subcutaneous fat for Tibetan males and females have been plotted in Fig. 1. The data also suggest that the females have slightly more brachial fat than the males before coming up to adolescent period. Yet a statistically significant difference

between the sexes does not develop until around the age of seventeen. During this time only sex difference occurs quite rapidly and then stabilizes through the early twenties.

Conclusion

From the present study it is apparent that the rapid adolescent growth spurt appears to be spread

over a longer time period with slower rate at any one point. Very high altitudes may retard growth particularly during adolescence, but it requires further extensive studies. Because, though hypoxia may have direct effect on the metabolic processes involved in growth, yet other factors like affect of intestinal absorption and childhood diseases should also be taken in to equal consideration.

Table No. 1

Mean Height and Weight of Tibetan Males and Females

Age range	Males					Females						
	Mean age	N	Height (Cm)	S. D.	Weight (Kg.)	S. D.	Mean age	N	Height (Cm)	S. D.	Weight (Kg.)	S. D.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1-2-9	1.9	6	69.6	4.7	7.9	0.6	1.4	6	73.3	10.0	8.0	3.3
3-4-9	4.0	19	91.3	6.6	13.3	2.3	3.6	16	88.3	6.1	12.0	1.9
5-6-9	5.9	16	96.6	7.3	14.6	2.9	5.6	13	96.6	5.3	16.1	3.0
7-8-9	7.9	16	116.0	8.1	20.3	3.1	7.9	16	112.0	11.6	18.3	3.6
9-10-9	10.0	16	119.3	13.1	23.3	4.6	9.6	13	121.6	8.6	22.6	4.2
11-12-9	12.0	16	126.4	6.8	26.6	4.6	11.6	6	129.1	5.9	26.5	4.0
13-14-9	14.0	9	133.6	8.1	30.8	6.0	13.3	9	133.6	7.8	32.9	7.6
15-16-9	15.9	13	139.9	7.6	36.6	6.6	16.1	6	139.3	7.9	38.6	9.1
17-18-9	18.0	9	153.6	6.3	48.2	10.3	17.9	9	145.3	4.3	45.6	5.8
19-20-9	20.2	6	156.6	7.3	50.3	6.9	19.6	13	146.6	6.3	51.1	5.9
21-22-9	22.3	6	156.3	5.6	53.3	4.6	21.6	7	148.0	5.4	49.3	3.7
23-35-9	29.3	31	159.3	6.1	56.6	6.1	29.3	43	148.9	6.1	49.6	6.6

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A note on the concept of Tribe

SUGUNA PAUL

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, much has been written on different aspects of Indian Tribes, without even having any scientific premise to identify the communities as tribes. In practice, the students of tribe have accepted the established groups as tribal communities which are duly designated by the Constitution of India as Scheduled Tribes. But unfortunately neither the Constitution lays down any concrete definition of the term nor even possess a single criterion to characterise a community of people as a tribe. Consequently without any scientific investigation, simply on a *priori* basis, through local stereotypes and images, groups of people inhabiting in particular regions are described as tribes *en bloc*¹.

Tentatively speaking such a scientific perspective in the identification of tribes, is a product of the British anthropological tradition, whose origin was closely associated with the requirements of colonial administration. Again, there is also the conscious acceptance of the established groups, as it satisfies the needs of the present system in very many ways. Anyway, is such a *prima facie* selection adequate enough

to locate the 'backward' communities who are by ascription entitled to certain special socio-economic and political privileges, through the Constitution?

Our pursuit in this paper is to review the little available attempts made by anthropologists to define the term—tribe and also the inherent assumptions. We would confine ourselves to the Indian context, that too briefly. And also, due to the diversities between tribes, testing of the attributes and assumptions may naturally remain limited.

In 1956, basing over the individual attempts of some pioneers anthropologists, like Morgan, Tylor, Perry, Rivers, Lowie and others, to define the term tribe, the Dictionary of Anthropology mention that a tribe is 'a Social Group, usually with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity, and unifying social organisation...(it) ordinarily has a leader and may have a common ancestor, as well as patron deity. The families or small communities making up the tribe are linked through economic, social, religious, family, or blood ties². The space does not permit us to provide full account

of the various views. Hence we would confine only to a few important contributors' attempt, in that regard.

Lewis assumed that 'ideally', tribal societies are small in scale, are restricted in the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal and political relations, and possess a morality, religion and world view of corresponding dimensions². This definition is inadequate for it restricts to ideal societies than real ones, many of which may be quite large and scattered over extensive territories. Besides how to differentiate between tribal and peasant communities, when in many parts of the world, peasant communities are also "small in scale". Similarly, Salins³ restriction of the tribe to segmentary societies, is questionable, for in that respect many developed tribes would correspond more to the peasants than to the tribes.

Perry⁴ thinks of a tribe as a group speaking a common dialect and inhabiting in a common territory. Any student of Indian tribe can easily find contrary evidences, in plenty. So Rivers⁵ added that the members of a tribe have a single Government and act together for common purpose as warfare. This character fails to account those tribes who do not possess any tribal chief or any tribal Government, as such. Besides, there is no ground to support the view that wars were and are always inter-tribal.

Evans-Pritchard defined tribe as a more or less homogenous society having a common dialect, common Government and a common culture⁶. Likewise, Kroeber conceived it as a small isolated and close-knit society. And in tribal society, socio-cultural aspects are largely organised around the kinship. Further, it is marked by

strong group integration based on the principle of primitive democracy⁷. Thus these authors only acknowledge to coherence and integration but not the existing internal contradictions and heterogeneity within the tribal societies.

We may now better deal with the above mentioned attributes of tribes in the Indian context. Initially, tribe and caste were synonymously used. But a period of prolonged controversy during the colonial period, they were separated and then, *The Imperial Gazetteer* described tribe, as a collection of families, bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying a common territory and which have been, if they are not endogamous⁸. This definition indicates the depth of influence of colonial anthropology. Moreover, the characters attributed to tribe are almost similar with that of caste⁹.

In distinguishing a tribe from caste, Bailey writes that an ideal tribe has always an organic entity which is characterised by lack of interaction and absence of hierarchical system, while an ideal caste encourages more interactions and hankers after a position in the hierarchical system¹⁰. This is an important contribution from a functionalist point of view so far as separating ideal tribe from ideal caste is concerned. But does the abstract ideal realm corresponds to the actual concrete world? Logically, it cannot. And so, Bailey, like his predecessors, failed bitterly in his attempts to differentiate tribe and caste, although he has studied both the social organisations, in depth.

Let us now turn to the exact use of the term in the Indian context. Sinha holds that a tribe is isolated from other ethnic groups in ecology, demography, economy, politics and other

social relations. It is marked by the lack of social stratification and role specialisation other than that of age, sex and kinship. In other words, it is a homogeneous social unit¹². But we are not told how they are isolated ethnic groups, what measurements we shall use to denote the groups and also what to call about the communities, which are differentiated. Indeed, Sinha added a number of observations to the confusion. This also clearly reveals the ambiguous skill of Indian anthropology. In fact, most of the well known students of tribe, have more or less followed the same outlook without specifying even the level of homogeneity in tribal societies, which they have studied. While academically we are nowhere near a comprehensive method of identifying the tribal societies, the State has accepted certain groups of people as tribes to facilitate their adequate representation in the mainstream of the nation. These categories are established and inherited from the British administration. It is not surprising that the Government should have a list of this kind in the interest of practical policy. But wonder is that the concerned anthropologists have accepted the list uncritically.

As a product of near-stagnancy in the creativity of the intellectuals, there are as many as 212 tribes in the country. And all are differentiated from non-tribes, while among them no differentiation is accepted from the practical point of view. Some States have as many as 63 tribes while others may have only one¹³.

For our purpose, let us see the variations between some selected tribes representing variations in demography, ecology, culture and economic development. As per Table 1 we noticed the tribes like the Gond,

the Bhil and the Santals are highly populated and are spread over several States of the country. In contrast, the Kadar, the Toda, the Ao Naga, and the Andamanese are less populated and restricted in limited areas. This means that both demographically and ecologically there exist polar communities who are levelled by a single term Scheduled Tribes.

Coming to the economy and culture, we notice that the Kadar, the Chenchu and the Andamanese are food gatherers and hunters, without private owning of means of production. And the Ao Naga, the Bhil, and the Khasi are shifting agriculturists, with the common ownership of land. At the same time, the Gond, the Oraon, and the Santal are permanent agriculturists with private ownership of land, and marked class antagonisms. Besides, there is the Toda, who live from domestication of animals. Hence, from the level of economy and culture point of view, we find hardly any similarity between these communities.

There obviously cannot be any dispute for providing certain ameliorative measures to the food gatherers, shifting agriculturists and those who live by animal husbandry because any external planned assistance would release the forces of production there without violating substantially to the relations of production. But, what about those permanent agriculturists, where the communities are structured on the basis of land. Would it not accelerate the antagonistic forces within the structured community? In addition, would it not be unfair to assist the tribal rich, while the rural poor is left to languish in poverty and malnutrition?

As is well known, among the advanced agricultural tribes, there are tribal landlords, small and middle peasants, tenants and agricultural

labourers¹⁴. The landlords by virtue of their control over land and also money-lending, enjoy not only the surplus labour of the tenants and various forms of free labour services, but also high socio-political status. In Independent India the special provisions, or at least a large part of these actually reach these powerful landlords. Many backward tribes fail to get their adequate share, as the rich section of the advanced tribes enjoy the privileges of the region. The main reason is that no discrimination is made between advanced and backward tribes, and inside advanced tribes¹⁵.

In other words, the present feudal and semi-feudal social formations

among the advanced tribal communities are the extensions of the tribal chieftainship of earlier times. The privileged class addressed their socio-economic, political and religious power to appropriate wealth produced by the impoverished peasants and serfs, and also are profited from the indiscriminate concessions of the State. In this connection, one would anticipate from the present day anthropologists that they shall earnestly seek to explain the existing problems in the established communities, and chart out specific plans for different categories of the so-called tribal communities. To us, it appears that such attempts alone can help us to conceptualize, the otherwise vague term, the tribe.

Table 1

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF THE SELECTED TRIBES IN INDIA

Name of the tribes	Where found (population in parenthesis)	Total population
(1)	(2)	(3)
Andamanes	.. Andaman and Nicobar Islands (19)	.. 19
Ao Naga	.. Nagaland (55,866)	.. 58,866
Bhil	.. Andhra Pradesh (83), Gujarat (1124,282), Madhya Pradesh (1,229,930), Maharashtra (575,022), Mysore (217) and Rajasthan (908,768) Tripura (69).	3,838,371
Chenchu	.. Andhra Pradesh (17,609), Mysore (205) and Orissa (52).	17,866
Gond	.. Andhra Pradesh (143,689), Bihar (33,521), Gujarat (87), Madhya Pradesh (3,094,613), Maharashtra (272,564), Mysore (862), Orissa (443,705) and West Bengal (735).	3,991,767
Kadar	.. Kerala (957) and Madras (293)	.. 1,250
Khasi	.. Assam (356,155), Nagaland (53) and Tripura (349)	.. 356,557

Name of the tribes (1)	Where found (population in parenthesis) (2)	Total population (3)
Oran	.. Bihar (735,025), Madhya Pradesh (283,073), Maharashtra (1), Orissa (129,061) and West Bengal (297,394),	1,444,554
Santal	.. Bihar (1,541,345), Orissa (411,181), West Bengal (1200,019) and Tripura (1,562).	3,154,107
Toda	.. Madras (2) Mysore (714)	716
Total	..	12,861,073

SOURCE—Census of India, 1961

NOTES

1. Regarding the arbitrary use of the term, see the well-known controversy between V. Elvin and G. S. Ghurya, in G. S. Ghurya, *The Aborigines—"So called" and their future* (Poona, 1943) and A. L. Basham, *The wonder that was India* (New York: Grove Press Inc., 1954), Chapter II. For the recent criticism on the indiscriminate use of the term see, R. Mukherji's Presidential address to XII All-India Sociological Conference, *Sociological papers* (Varanasi, May 4-6, 1974), p. 33, and also, *Government of India Reports of the Scheduled areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission* (1960-61), vol. I, p. 20.
2. See, K. L. Bhownick, *Tribal India, A profile in Indian Ethnology*, Calcutta: The World Press Pvt. Ltd., 1970), p. 1
3. I. M. Lewis, "Tribal Society", in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. The Macmillan Co. and the Free Press 1968), vol. 15, p. 147.
4. D. M. Saks, *Polskane* (Prentice Hall, 1968).
5. See in K. L. Bhownick, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1.
6. *Ibid*
7. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* (Clarendon Press, 1940)
8. A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (Calcutta: Oxford & IBBI Publishing Co., 1972)
9. Cited in K. L. Bhownick, *op. Cit.*
10. See for discussion, D. N. Majumdar, *The Frontiers of Primitive Tribes* (Lucknow, 1944)
11. F. G. Bailey, 'Tribe' and 'Caste' in India", *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, V, 1963, pp. 7-19
12. S. Sinha, 'Tribe-Caste and Tribe-peasant continua in Central India' *Man in India* Vol. 45, No. 1, 1965, p. 2
13. See Census of India, 1961
14. For instance, S. Fuchs, *The Gonds and Bhambas of Eastern India* (Bombay, New literature publication Co. 1968) ; I Singh, *The Gondwans and the Gonds* (Lucknow, 1944), T. B. Nali, *The Bils* (Delhi, 1958); G. S. Ghury; *The Scheduled Tribes* (Bombay: Popular Press, 1963); and also J. Pathy, "Political Economy of Kumbhaland" *Man in India*, vol. 36, No. 1.
15. See J. Pathy, *Scheduled Tribes: Myth and Reality* "Mainstream, Vol. 14, 36, pp. 12-14

Ethnomethodology: An exposition

JAGANATH PATHY

"In the ages in which active life is the condition of almost everyone, men are generally led to attach an excessive value to the rapid bursts and superficial conceptions of the intellect and on the other to under value its slower and deeper labours".

Alexis De. Tocqueville

Recently a considerable number of social scientists are understandably curious and confused with increasing popularity of ethnomethodology. To some, it appears "liberal" and a development over the polemics between raw empiricism and theory building while others consider it, as a new dimension of "conservatism" and being divorced from profound historical analysis, focuses on the minuscule (often unimportant features) investigations, giving an illusion of academic vigour. The existence of the two equally powerful (?) and irreconcilable viewpoints among the concerned intellectuals at a given historical time and space, broadly denote the inherent contradictions in the social environment (where it was born) and social science. However, here we would like to limit ourselves only to examine the major implications of the theory of

ethnomethodology at the methodological level.

The word ethnomethodology is derived from the concept of ethno-science in the field of anthropology, where it deals primarily with the system of knowledge and cognition of specific cultures, especially those of non-literate peoples and communities (Psathas 1968). Both ethno-science and ethnomethodology attempt to understand, classify and define the socio-physical world of the cultural processes. But the former mainly tends to describe these cultural processes in small and relatively stable societies, whereas, the latter claims to examine the said processes in large and changing societies. However, irrespective of the talaim of understanding social changes, we will notice soon that the techniques, methods and perspectives of ethnomethodology together act as the decessive constraint in providing a dynamic dimension to social cognition, thereby ultimately reducing it to more or less, another conservative branch of social science.

Ethnomethodologists have argued that they have successfully synthesized the major sociological tendencies, and that has helped them to perceive

the social environment more concretely and systematically, which was hitherto absent in the sociological profession. In short ethnomethodology has borrowed its methodology from logico-empiricism while its theory has been derived from hermeneutic-dialectical tradition (Mehan and Wood, 1975a). Needless to point out the antagonism between the two major trends in the social sciences. But the practitioners of ethnomethodology claim that the objective inquiries are possible without siding either of the antithetical tradition. If it is really so, then the concerned theoreticians, would naturally be entitled of high esteem in the academic world. We of course in the following will observe that it is quite closer to logico-empiricism than the other tradition.

Usually the task of exposing a subject matter or a part of it, starts with the analysis of the definition. But unfortunately, in this case we are not privileged to do that for the existing literature on the subject do not provide us any precise and clear definition of the term ethnomethodology. The attempts to define the term, are almost always done in an esoteric manner, often being quite contrary to each other. And they are also formulated in an *ad hoc* and superficial descriptive way explaining the field or the technique or the purpose, but not the totality. To some it is merely a sociology with different subject matter (Turner 1974). While for others, it seems to be more a method for investigating socio-cultural environment than a theory (Pathas, 1968). Nevertheless the lack of clarity in defining the term, is though deplorable and expresses weakness in the conceptualization of the term, it need not necessarily be an obstacle to the understanding of the theory and its inherent assumptions. A concept may be underdeveloped or less developed but if its premises are systematised and comprehensive enough then

naturally, it can be treated as a high order of abstraction, a condition for scientific development.

Accordingly, let us begin with the basic assumptions of ethnomethodology. Ethnomethodology denies the generalizability of any theory of social change and suggests that the everyday life of people shall be investigated in its own right and as having a unique logic of its own. Basing over this premise, the ethnomethodologists make devastating criticisms of all the prevailing sociological theories and methodologies, of Comte to Marx to Parsons as spurious and bizarre for those were constructed over unexamined assumptions about everyday life. So the hitherto-unexplored mundane—the everyday life and experience—is considered the most significant enterprise in the present day social sciences.

Again, we are told that "To do ethnomethodology one must pursue some activity", further reading does not make one an ethnomethodologist..... because ethnomethodology is essentially a way of working that it can liberate us from what Blake called... single vision and Newton's sleep (Mehan and Wood, 1975 b : 526). In other words, ethnomethodology pictures men as individual entrepreneurs and suggests that personal experience or 'face-to-face' interaction is the *sine-quo-non* for arriving at meaningful and important conclusions on individuals and cultures (Denzin 1969 : 930). But the question of activity is undefined and thus left to the choice of the researchers. Moreover since no theory claims to be eternal and immutable we will be liberated from what is unclear.

At the same time Schutz (1967) observes that every individual has a unique biography and also a unique perspective. Hence his understanding of the reality is conditioned by his

life experience. And depending on the variations in life experiences, which would in any case be conspicuous the socio-culture reality will have multiple perspectives. That is why there cannot be a single paramount objective reality. Instead, there would be a number of realities arising from the differences in individual life experiences. And so, the so-called objective reality is myth and is constructed by dominant scientists who were not usually challenged by others for anxiety and fear of being caught and condemned (Douglas, 1974). If all the social scientists follow this formulation then there would be no generalizable knowledge and we would have to confine to investigating and describing the uniqueness of every situation (Zeitlin, 1973: 181-2). Anyway being grounded in phenomenology and committed to investigate essential and transcendental features of every day life by video-tapes, individual case studies and behaviour patterns it avoids "promiscuous (:) discussions of theory" (Garfinkel, 1967: viii). Mention may be made that we are not critical of case studies but the selection of unique and abnormal cases and thereby claiming credit for doing new researches. In addition, such studies ignore even the fundamentals of scientific method like sampling (Garfinkel 1968). Moreover, certain haphazard cases are treated as the total universe and are never related to the larger socio-historical structure. In that sense it is atomistic astructural and ahistoric (Mayrs, 1973-14). To be precise ethnomethodology is a situational sociology that loses sight of antecedents historical conditions and the importance of a priori categories as well as theory building.

Be that aside for the moment and let us now turn to another assumption that any phenomenon has its own reality and is worth of study. This means that all situations are equally problematic

for all actors at any given point of time. But does it so? Is there no difference between primary and secondary aspects of life and conditions? It would be absurd to consider hair dressing and working for wages as one and the same in importance. Anyway, ethnomethodologists in actuality do not deal with all the problems but only those which interest them and are not studied earlier. Being undefined the problems tend to be located in trivial issues without having any meaningful relations to the basic life chances. Mostly the selection is done on a commonsense basis (Johnson, 1974) and there is absolutely no *modus operandi* in the pattern of investigation.

It also assumes that every one is in a position equal to every one else, i.e. every one is able to comprehend the reality in his own way. That means there is no difference between common beliefs and the scientific pursuits. The focus then is on the ways through which the people construct a socially meaningful world (Garfinkel 1968: vii). But who will determine the event is meaningful or not and whether it occurred or did not occur earlier is undecided.

Again it perceives man as controlled but beneficently and strives to repair the causalities suffered in the normal wear and tear of interaction in the socio-cultural systems. In that way ethnologists act like functionalists. They "are so concerned with reporting the fact that people bend the rules, that they forget to ask about the nature or implication of the rules" (Zeitlin 1973: 185-6). This shows their class character and conservatism. So their liberalism is no more than laissez fair type. Further their assumption that "man creates his own world, man must then be responsible for his own situation and for his own actions is antirevolutionary, in a class-ridden society (Szymanski 1973: 60). This is a vivid proof of

their attempt to rationalize the existing moribund and unjust social institutions, and safeguard the *status quo*.

The implication of these different premises, then is that the ethnologists deny the worth of institutional analysis aimed at social change or social transformation. At times they are even actively opposed to change. They dissolve institutions to entirely subjective categories of individuals or group perceptions. They talk of group or individual using psychologistic or biologicistic mechanisms. In the meanwhile they leave the study of society and get satisfied with minor elements. And then naturally they have to maintain that the reality which is observed is partial and is subject to continual revision. It may be mentioned here that we are not opposed to the study of creative aspects of man's personality but to the slicing of history into situations and episodes to the analysis of daily life of some individuals or groups away from historical and material roots,

and in brief, to the running functionalist play of "face-to-face" social world of the "actors" in a "situation". This is absolute reductionism and shall be criticised at all costs. The attempts to describe unique cases in an exhaustive manner, is no science (Coleman, 1968: 127). It does not bother to investigate how a particular institution or a system or a sub-system came to be or what is the effect of larger events on the particular phenomena which is being investigated (Leach 1974). Simple analysis of behaviour cannot substantiate their claim of being "radical" or critical (Reynolds, 1973). It is indeed another branch of conservatism developed in the American soil.

We would like to conclude this brief note on ethnomethodology with the oft quoted lines from C. W. Mills who held: "No social study that does not come back to the problems of biography of history and of their intersections within a society, has completed its intellectual journey" (1970, 12).

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ABO Blood group of Parajas of Koraput District

BASANTI RATH

In this paper the ABO blood group of Parajas of Koraput district is presented. The investigation was carried out in 1971.

A total number of 100 unrelated individuals of which 69 male samples 31 female samples were studied. Sample is small sized.

Material and Method

The samples selected for the present study are collected from different villages of Koraput district of Orissa.

Blood samples were collected by finger pricks and grouping test was performed by the slide method.

Results and Discussion

The total number of population tested were 100, of which 69 males and 31 females were studied. The percentage of O group in case of male group is 33.33 which is followed by the groups B and A; the percentages of

which are 29.98 and 26.08 respectively. The percentage of AB group is 11.50 which is very low.

From the Table I it is observed that among the female group the percentage of A group is 38.7 which is closely followed by the B group, the percentage of which is 35.7. O group and AB group show the percentages 16.1 and 9.6 respectively. Bisexual variation is very predominant.

$\chi^2 = 17.30$ (3 d.f)

P is less than 0.001

(The gene frequencies have been estimated as $p=0.215$, $q=0.162$, $r=0.623$).

In the Table II the distribution of ABO blood group in different population of Orissa Compared.

The ABO blood group of Parajas shows close similarity with the Gadabas.

The 'O' blood group peoples of Sashana Brahmin, Sabara Juang and Gadabas show similarity with Parajas of present study.

In AB blood group, the aboriginal tribes of Orissa, Juang and Bhojs, Oriya Khandayat (studied by Tripathy and Mitra), Gauras, Panos and Gadaba (studied by M. Mahapatra Unpublished) have similarity with Parajas of present study.

Table III represents the distribution of ABO blood group in Indian population. The table shows that the Parajas of present study are similar with Santal and orsons of Bihar, Maria Gonds of Bastar and Gadabas of Koraput district which is studied by M. Mahapatra (unpublished). Compared with world frequencies, P and Q for this group are greater than the world average of 0.215, 0.162 and r is less in former than the world average.

Compared with the population studied by MC arthur and penrose

(India, Ceylon, Maldiv Islands, Nepal and Pakistan), p and r of Paraja group are greater than p and r of those populations and q of Paraja group is lower than the q of those populations. In comparison with Australoids p and q of Paraja group are greater than the p and q of Australoids and r of the Paraja group is lesser than the r of Australoid group.

Summary

Blood samples of 100 Parajas of some villages of Koraput district, Orissa were tested for ABO blood groups. The percentages of group A, group B, group AB and group O are 30 per cent, 31 per cent, 11 per cent and 28 per cent respectively. The gene frequencies have been estimated as $p=0.215$, $q=0.162$, $r=0.623$.

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Table I

Sex	No. of Subjects	Phenotypes						
		A	B	AB	O	P	Q	R
Male	69	26.08%	28.98%	11.59%	33.33%	0.232	0.239	0.529
Female	31	38.7%	35.7%	9.6%	16.1%			

Table II
ABO BLOOD GROUP DISTRIBUTION AMONG ORISSA POPULATION

Population	No.	O	A	B	AB	Author
Ahoriginal tribes of Orissa	153	36.39	21.36	31.07	10.6	Sarkar 1956
Juang	..	115	21.74	21.74	47.83	8.69 Sarkar 1956
Sabara	..	86	22.09	24.42	38.37	15.12 Sarkar 1956
Bhoie	..	58	17.24	31.93	41.37	10.36 Tripathy 1968
Oriya Khandayat	..	60	40.00	18.33	25.00	11.67 Macfarlane 1938
Santal	..	57	11.78	10.02	23.10	6.14 Raychowdhury and some.
Brāhmin	..	28	37.17	25.00	39.28	1.57 Tripathy and Mitra 1967.
Karan	..	45	33.33	22.22	37.77	6.6 Ditto
Khandayat	..	38	18.42	25.32	44.73	10.53 Ditto
Other Castes	..	54	20.36	27.77	51.86	9.26 Ditto
Gaura	..	118	36.57	23.28	46.99	10.66 Raychowdhury and some.
Shaghana Brahmin	..	200	30.99	27.75	37.37	7.76 Dr. U. Deka Mahapatra S. Mishra.
Pano	..	125	40.75	31.47	41.42	11.34 Raychowdhury and some.
Oriya Brahmin	..	235	46.3	25.5	29.00	1.28 Pattnaik and Ghosh Maulik Unpublished.
Gadaba	..	250	28.80	31.20	30.00	10.90 M. Mahapatra Unpublished.
Paraja	..	100	28.7	31	30	11 Present study

Table III
COMPARISON OF A B O BLOOD GROUP AMONG INDIA AND OTHERS

Population	Authors	No.	O	A	B	AB	P	Q	R
Angami Nagas (Borders of Assam).	Mitra 1935-36	165	46.06	38.79	11.51	3.64	24.13	7.89	67.98
Angami Nagas (Borders of Assam).	Bhattacharjee 1967.	100	45.00	38.00	15.00	6.00	25.03	8.35	66.12
Khasi (Khasia Jainilla Hills of Assam).	Basu 1938 ..	50	46.6	15.6	33.3	4.5			
Bihar (Assam)	.. Sarkar ..	21	38.10	57.14		4.76			
Hos (Bihar)	.. Majumdar 1950-51.	186	34.95	31.72	27.96	5.36	20.87	18.52	60.61
Mundas (Bihar)	.. Macfarlane 1941.	120	33.33	32.00	29.17	7.50	21.03	20.52	58.4
Orang (Bihar)	.. Sarkar 1949 ..	115	26.09	27.83	33.91	12.17	22.52	26.55	
Santal (Bihar)	.. Sarkar and Sotte 1952.	407	31.69	21.37	35.63	11.30	17.83	26.97	
Jats (Punjab)	.. Khurana 1950	93	41.93	22.58	34.41	1.07	12.82	12.97	
Chamars (U. P.)	.. Majumdar 1947	150	36.67	18.67	39.33	5.33	12.58	25.24	
Dom (U. P.)	.. Majumdar 1942	125	35.00	20.00	33.60	10.40	16.43	24.95	
Oraons (Calcutta)	.. Sarkar 1942-43	155	47.10	12.90	34.84	5.16	9.95	24.47	
Maria Gond (Jagdalpur).	Bastar Macfarlane 1940.	123	78.45	26.02	34.15	11.38	20.84	26.14	
	Pandit 1934..	200	29.50	19.50	38.00	13.00	17.05	29.68	
Bhotia (Almora)	.. Tiwari 1951-52.	144	18.06	15.97	50.79	15.97	15.20	40.40	
World average	.. Mc Arthur and penrose.					0.215	0.162	0.623	
India, Ceylon, Bhutan, Maldives and Pakistan.	.. Mc Arthur and penrose.					0.185	0.230	0.50	
Gadaba (Orissa)	.. Mahapatra Unpublished.	250		28.80	31.20	30.20	30.00		10.00
Paraja (Orissa)	.. Present study	100	28.00	30.00	31.00	11.00	0.232	0.239	0.539

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ନିଆରାଣୀ । ପୁଣି ଏହା ଘଟିତ ସମୟର ଦେଇ ବିବାହର ସ-ପ୍ରାଣୀ ଗାଡ଼ି ଗୋଟା ଗୋଟି ଭାବରେ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ କରାଯାଇ-
 ଚାହିଁ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ବିବାହକୁ ବିଶେଷ କରି ଶିବ
 ବିବାହ ଅନ୍ତର ତଥା ସ-ପୁର ଅନ୍ତର୍ବିତ ବିବାହ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରକୁ ଏବଂ
 ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗତ ଦୂରରେ ଉପିତା ଅତି ବ୍ୟବହାର ବ୍ୟାପାର । ଶିବ
 ବିବାହର ବିତ ନିର୍ବାହକରେ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ବିବାହର ଉପିତାକୁ
 ଯେଉଁ ସ୍ଥାନ ନିର୍ବାହୀ, ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗତ ଭାବରେ ଅପରାଧୋତ୍ତର
 ଧାରା ଅତି ନରଦୁର୍ଗତ ସ୍ଥାନ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା କରିଛି । ଏହା କରିବେ
 ଅଦୂରୀ ହେବନାହିଁ ଯେ, ଏହି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଶିବ ବିବାହ ମୁତ
 ଦୂରରେ ଅଦୂରୀତ୍ୱ ହୋଇ ରହିଛି ଏବଂ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ଅତି-
 ବ୍ୟବହାର ଓ ଗାଁ ପ୍ରସାର ଉପରେ ଯୋଗଦାନ ଧାରା ନିଆରାଣୀ-
 ଗାହି ।

୪ । (କ) ବୃତ୍ତର ଧରଣର ଶିବ—ଅନେକ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା
 ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଦେଖେ ଯାହା ଶିବ ଏପରିକି ସାପନ କରାଯାଇଛି ।
 ପରସ୍ତ ଏହି ଶିବପୁତ୍ର ବହୁଭାବରେ କଥାମାନ ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର
 କରିଥାଏ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ସାପନା ମୁଖ୍ୟତଃ ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା
 ଉପରେ କରାଯାଇଛି । ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧାଳୁ
 ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀଙ୍କର ତଥା ବିବାହର ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀ ନିଆରାଣୀରେ । ଏହି
 ଶିବ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପିତ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ଅନ୍ତରରେ ସାପିତ
 ହୋଇଛି । ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧାଳୁ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ଓ ମଧ୍ୟସ୍ତରରେ ବ୍ୟବ-
 ହାର କରନ୍ତି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପନ ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀ ଯୋଗଦାନ ଉପାଦାନ ଏବଂ
 ଏହି ଶିବ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ଦେଇ ଉପର, ସମ୍ବଳ, ବିଭିନ୍ନ
 ଅତି ପରିଚାଳନା ଏବଂ ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗତ ଭାବରେ ପ୍ରସାର
 କରାଯାଇ । ଏହି ଶିବ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ତଥା ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧାଳୁ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା
 ବିଶେଷତା ଦେଖି ଯେ, ଏହା ଅନେକ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଅଦୂରୀମୁଖୀ
 ହେଉଛି ଏବଂ ଅଦୂରୀତ୍ୱ ପାଇଁ ହୁଏ । ଏହି ଶିବ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପିତ
 ଉପିତ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦୂରରେ ଅଦୂରତ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ରହିଛି ତଥାପି ଏହାର
 ଉପରସ୍ଥା ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାତା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରଠାରୁ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ଅଧିକ ହେଉଛି ।
 କେତେକ କେତେ ଏହି ଶିବ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ସାମାନ୍ୟ ମନ୍ତ୍ରଣା ଗାନ୍ଧି
 ମଧ୍ୟ ସାମାନ୍ୟ କେତେକି ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରେନାହିଁ ।
 ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଯେଉଁକୁ ନେଇ ଯେ କାମ କରିଥାଏ । ଏହି ଗାନ୍ଧି
 ଶିବପୁତ୍ର ଗାନ୍ଧି ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଶିବ ମଧ୍ୟ
 ସାପିତ ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ଏହି ଶିବ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପିତ ଗାନ୍ଧି ବ୍ୟବ-
 ହାର କଥାମାନ ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରିଥାଏ । ଏହା ସାପିତ
 ହେବାର ମୁଖ୍ୟ କାରଣ ଯେଉଁ ଉପରା ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ବିଷୟ ଏବଂ
 ଅଧିକ ସ୍ଥାନ । ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଶିବ ବିବାହ ଗାନ୍ଧି
 ଗୋଟିଏ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାପନ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଏପରିକି ହୋଇନାହିଁ ।
 ଅନ୍ୟ ଏବଂ ଏହା କରିବେ ଅଦୂରୀତ୍ୱ ହେବନାହିଁ ଯେ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା
 ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଶିବ ବିବାହ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ହୋଇପାରିନାହିଁ ।

୫ । (କ) ଅନ୍ୟ ପ୍ରସାର—ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧୀୟ ବିବାହ ଶ-୨,
 ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ବିବାହ ଶ-୩ ତଥା ଅନ୍ୟ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧୀୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ
 ଏବଂ ଏହା ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗତ ସାଧାରଣ ବିବାହ ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀଙ୍କର ହାତକୁ
 ନିଆରାଣୀ, ଯେଉଁଥିରେ ପିଣ୍ଡ ଶିବ, ବନ୍ଧନ, ଦୁର୍ଗା ଏବଂ

ପ୍ରାଣ ଶିବ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତି ଘଟିତାତ ହୋଇଛି । ପରସ୍ତ ଏହି
 କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାତା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ କରାଯାଇଛି । ଏହି
 କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାତାମାନଙ୍କ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ଅନ୍ତରରେ ବିଶେଷ
 ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା ପ୍ରତି ହେବୁ ବଳି ସବୁ କରାଯାଇଛି । ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା-
 ତାଙ୍କ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ମାର୍ଗ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନା ଅଧାର ଉପରେ
 ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାତା କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ବହୁଳ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ମାନବର
 ନୂତନ ସମସ୍ତ ଅଦୂରତା କରିଥାଏ । ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଏ ପରିକି
 ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମକୁ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ଅନ୍ତରରେ ବିଶେଷ ସ୍ୱାଧିନ
 କରିନାହିଁ । ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଅତି ଗର୍ଭର ଅନ୍ତେ
 ବହୁତେ ଯୋଗଦାନ ଶିବ ବିବାହ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ତଥା ଯେଉଁଠାରେ
 ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଯାହା ପିଣ୍ଡ ବିଧିଧାରା ହୋଇଯାଇଛି,
 ଯେଉଁ କାରଣ କେବଳ ସ୍ଥାନ ଦୂର ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ରହିଛି
 ଏବଂ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିବାହ ସ୍ୱାଧିନ ଭାବରେ
 ହୋଇଯାଉନାହିଁ । ଉଦାହରଣ ଏବଂ ଶିବ ବିବାହର ଅର୍ଥ-
 ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଦୂରକୁ ରହିବେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହାକୁ ସହର
 ଶିବର ବିସ୍ତାର ଦୂରରେ ପ୍ରସାର କରାଯାଇଥାଏ । ଏହି ଭାବରେ
 ଅନ୍ତର ଯେଉଁ ଯେଉଁ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ଅନ୍ତରରେ, ବିବାହର ଦୂର ଦେଖି
 ସେଠାରେ ଅଧିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଓ ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀଙ୍କ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା
 ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଦେଖିବୁ ସାପିତ ହୋଇଯାଉନାହିଁ ବୋଲି ଅନୁଭବ
 ହୁଏ ।

୬ । ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ଶିବର ପ୍ରସାର ଓ ଏହାର
 ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାତାଙ୍କର :—

(କ) ବୃତ୍ତର ଶିବ—ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ବିଶେଷତାକୁ ଏହା
 ବ୍ୟବହାର କରି ଯେ, ଏ ପରିକି ଶିବ ବିବାହର ଧାରା ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା
 କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ଅନୁସୂଚି ତଥା ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ଅବଶ୍ୟକତାକୁ
 ଓ ସାମାନ୍ୟତାକୁ ଦେଖି ବଳି ସବୁକି ଅନ୍ତରରେ ହୋଇନାହିଁ ।
 ଦୂରର ଶିବ ତଥା ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧାଳୁ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାତାଙ୍କର ସାପନା ଅନ୍ତରରେ
 ଅନୁସୂଚି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାକୁ ଉପାଦାନ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଅଧିକ ସାମାନ୍ୟିତ
 ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଘଟିତ ଉପରେ କରାଯାଇଛି । ଏହି ଦୂର ଗିରି ମଧ୍ୟରେ
 ବିବାହର ମିଳନ ହିଁ ଗାହି । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଅଧିକ ଶିବାନ୍ତର
 ଏବଂ ବିବାହ ଅନୁସୂଚି ଅନ୍ତର ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସ୍ଥାନ ଶିବ ଦୂରରେ
 ଅନୁସୂଚିତା କରୁଛି ଏବଂ ସରଳ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ
 ଯେତେ କ୍ଷାତ୍ର ପାରେ ବିବର୍ଣ୍ଣ ହୋଇଯାଇଛି । ଏହି
 ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାତାଙ୍କର ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ବିଶେଷ ଉପରୁ ହୋଇ ଯାଏ ।
 ଏହାପୁରା ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ଶିବ ନିର୍ଭର ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗତ ଯିବରେ ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ
 ଭାବରେ ରହିଯାଇଥାଏ । ଅନୁସୂଚି ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଶିବ ସ୍ଥାନର
 ଗାନ୍ଧି ଯେଉଁବିଧି ବିବାହ ଉପରା, ଏହାପୁରା ଅନ୍ତର
 କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀଙ୍କ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟାକୁ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ
 କରାଯାଇଥାଏ । ତେଣୁ ଏହି ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ନୂତନ ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧାଳୁ
 ଅନୁସୂଚି ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀ ତଥା ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା
 ଦୂର ଦେଖି ନିର୍ଭର କରେ । ପରସ୍ତ ନୂତନ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ
 ସାଧାରଣ ଭାବରେ ଏହାର ସ୍ଥାନ ରହି ଯାଏ ।

୭। ଅଧିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଭାଗିକିକ ଛାପିତ କରି ନିଜର ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱଦର୍ଶୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଉପିତ ଭାଗ୍ୟାଳ ସରକ ଛାପତ କରିବାରେ ଦେଖା ଏପରିକି ହୋଇନାହିଁ । ସାଧାରଣ ଦେବା, ଶୁଣିବାକ ପ୍ରଦା, ପୁଅ, ପଣା, ପିତା ଭଗ୍ୟାଳିକ ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ନୂତନ ଅଧିକ ସମାଜବାସୀ ଉପୁ ବେଳେଅଛି । ପରସ୍ତ ଏହାଦ୍ୱାରା ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱଦର୍ଶୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ କୌଣସି ସର ପାଇ ପାରୁନାହିଁ । ତିନିଟି ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ସହିତ କଠିତ ପ୍ରଦାସାମାନେ ଅଧିକ ସରବାସ ହେଉଅଛି । ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱଦର୍ଶୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଗୁଣିତାତ ପ୍ରଦାସ ଭବିତ ବଦଳର ଦାବୀ ଏପରିକି ହୋଇନାହିଁ । ଏହିପରି ପ୍ରଦାନ ଅବସାରେ ଏହି ଶିବ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ସାଧାରଣ ବ୍ୟବସାୟିକ ନିଜର ପାଇଁ ପ୍ରଦାସୀପ୍ରଦର୍ଶୀକା ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଭଗରେ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶିତାଏ । ଧାର ଧାରେ ଅଞ୍ଚଳାଞ୍ଚ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ବହୁ ପ୍ରଦାସୀ ବହୁକା ସାଧକ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଅଗ୍ରଣ କରି ବ୍ୟବସାୟ କରି ଆସନ୍ତି ଏବଂ ସେମାନେ ପ୍ରତିଦିନ ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ହେଉଥିବା ନୟନ ଅପ୍ରାଣ ହୋଇଆସନ୍ତି । ଏହିପରି ଭାବରେ ଶିବଭେଦ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟ ଏବଂ ନିବଦର୍ଶୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଅଧିବାସୀ ନୟନରେ ସରକ ଉପପାରେ ନାହିଁ । ଶିବ ଏପରିକି ପ୍ରଦାସୀମାନଙ୍କର ଶୁଣିବା ପ୍ରଧାନ ଛାତ୍ର ଥାଏ । ଭାବରେ ଅଧିବାସୀ ବ୍ୟାସ ପ୍ରଦେଶର ବହୁ ପ୍ରଦାସୀ ସୁଖିନାଏ । ଏହି ଭାବରେ ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱଦର୍ଶୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଅଧିବାସୀ ଅଧିବାସୀକୁ ବିବିଧିଭବର ଶ ଏହାର ସୁବିଧା-ବଦଳ ପ୍ରଦାସ ଏବଂ ନୂତନ ସମାଜୀୟ ସୁବିଧା କରିଛି । ପ୍ରଦାସ ଶ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ପରିସରରେ ନୟନ ଅଧିବାସୀ ଛାତ୍ର ପାଇପାରେ ନାହିଁ । ଅଧିକ ଦିଶକ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାମାନଙ୍କର, ବହୁତ ସମାଜବାସୀ ପ୍ରଦାସୀ ନିଜର ଶୁଣକ ବଦଳି ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ପରସ୍ତ ଏହି ବର୍ଣ୍ଣିତ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ପ୍ରଦାସ ଉପରେ ପ୍ରଦାସୀ ବ୍ୟବସାୟୀ ହୋଇ ଉପେକ୍ଷ ସରବାସ ହୋଇଆସନ୍ତି । ଏହି ଭାବରେ ଶିବଭେଦ ମାନଙ୍କରେ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ନୂତନ ଅବସର ବହୁବେଳେଥାଏ ଶିବ ନୂତନ ବ୍ୟବସାୟିକ ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା ପ୍ରଦା ଏହାର ସର ବେଳର ପ୍ରଦାସୀମାନେ ହିଁ ପାଇଆସନ୍ତି ।

୮। (କ) ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକ-ଅଗ୍ରଣ ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳ-ମାନଙ୍କରେ ଛାପିତ ହେଉଅଛି । ଏହି ଶିବପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟ ଅଗ୍ରଣା-ଶରେ ବଞ୍ଚାମାନ ଭଗରେ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶିତାଏ । ଛାତ୍ରାଞ୍ଚ ବ୍ୟାପାର ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ ଏବଂ ସର ସୁବିଧ ଏହା ବହୁତ-ଶିବ ବେଳେ । ଅବଶ୍ୟ ଏହା ବେଶାସାଧାରଣରେ ଯେ ଏହି ଶିବକ ଉପରିବୃତ୍ତ ଏବଂ ପ୍ରତିଦିନ ଛାତ୍ରାଞ୍ଚର ତିନିଟି ହୋଇ ଉଠିଛି । ଏହାର ସର ଛାତ୍ରାଞ୍ଚ ବ୍ୟାପାର ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ ସମାଜବାସୀ ଅଧିକ ଥାଏ ଏବଂ ବହୁତ-ଶିବ ପାସୁ ଏହାର ବହୁପ୍ରଦାସ ନୟନ ନିବଦ ଉପୁ ଥାଏ । ଏହା ବ-ପରିକି ଏବଂ ଅଗ୍ରଣ ପରସ୍ତେ ପ୍ରଦାସୀମାନେ । ଏହି ଶିବ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟ ଅଧିବାସୀଙ୍କରେ ବିଶେଷ ହୋଇ ଉଠିଛି ଏବଂ ଏହା ସପରେ ପ୍ରଦାସୀକି ନିବଦଶର ସମାଜବାସୀ ନୟନ କରି କରି ଆଉଛି । ଅଗ୍ରଣବଦ ପେରିଠାରେ ଏହାପରି ହୋଇ ଏହି ବେଶାସାଧାରଣ ସର ପାଇବା ସମାଜବାସୀ ଅଛି, ପରସ୍ତ ଶା ବାସୀରେ ଉପିତ ପ୍ରଦାସୀକି ଶୁ-ଶରା ଶ

ଉଠିରେ, ଏହା ଅନୁପ୍ରାପ୍ତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପାଇଁ ଏବଂ ବିଶାଳ ହୋଇହେଉ ପ୍ରଦାସରେ ପିତା ବେଶାସୀ ସମାଜବାସୀ ଉଠିଛି ।

୯। (କ) ଶିବ ଶିବ-ଅଗ୍ରଣ ପ୍ରଦାନ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ଦେଖି ଆସିଥାଉ ଯେ, ଅଧିବାସୀ ସମୁଦାୟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ପ୍ରାମାଣ ପ୍ରଦା ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକ ଛାତ୍ରାଞ୍ଚ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ସମାଜବାସୀ ବ-ପରିକି ବେଶାସୀ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ହୋଇନାହିଁ । ବେଶୁ ଏହି ଶିବମାନ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା ଅନୁସାରେ ବାଣି କରିପାରିନାହିଁ । ଏହି ବ-ପରିକି ବେଶାସୀ ସମାଜ-ସମାଜବାସୀଙ୍କର ନୟନ ପ୍ରଦାସ ହୋଇ ପାରିନାହିଁ । ଅଗ୍ରଣିକା ଯୋଗୁଁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକଳ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟରେ ବିବେକ ସୁବି ହେଉଅଛି । ବେଶାସୀ ସମାଜରେ ଉପି ବେଶାସୀ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ ହୋଇ ପାଇଁ, ଶିବ ପ୍ରଦାସୀକି, ବାସୀଙ୍କର ବାସୀ ସେହି ସମାଜର ବାଣି ବ୍ୟାସ ଉପିକାରେ ଅଗ୍ରଣ ହେଉଛି । ସାଧାରଣ ଭାବରେ ଏହା ପ୍ରଦାସୀମାନେ ଯେ, ସାଧାରଣ ଶିବ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକଳ ଅଧିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ସୁବିଧା ପ୍ରଦେଶର ସପକ ହୋଇପାରୁନାହିଁ ।

୧୦। (କ) ଶିବ ଉପାଦାନ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା —ଏହି ଶରେ ଅନ ଏବଂ ବିଶେଷ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ବିଶେଷତା ବ୍ୟାସାଧାରଣ । ଉପରିକି ବେଶାସୀକି ଶାବରେ ଅଧିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଛାପିତ ହେଉଅଛି । ପ୍ରଦାନ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ଏହା ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ହେଉଅଛି । ପରସ୍ତ ଏହାର ପ୍ରଦେଶକୁ ବେଶି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ବିଶେଷତା ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାକୁ ପ୍ରଦାସ ବେଶି ପ୍ରଦାସୀକି । ଏହି ପ୍ରଦାସ ନିଜ ନିଜେ ଅଧିକ ହେଉଛି । ଏହା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ବେଶାସୀକି ଶା ବେଶାସୀକି ଅଧିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଧାର ଧାରେ ପ୍ରଦାସ ପ୍ରଦାସ ଏବଂ ବେଶାସୀକି ପ୍ରଦାସ-ପ୍ରଦାସ ହାତ ପ୍ରଦାସିକି ବିଶେଷ ଉପିତ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାକି ଉପୁଛି । ଏହା ଅଧିକ ବେଶାସୀକି ଶା ଯେ ଶୁପିକେଶିକି ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଅଗ୍ରଣ ଶାସ୍ତ୍ର ଅଧିବାସୀ ଏହିପରି ଅବସା ବେଶାସୀ କରି କରିଛି । ବେଶି ସମାଜରେ ଶୁଦ୍ଧ ଶୁଦ୍ଧ ଶିବ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟ ବିଶେଷ ବିଶେଷତା ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଉପୁଛି ଏବଂ ଏହି ବିଶେଷତା ପ୍ରଦାସପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟ ଅଗ୍ରଣ ପ୍ରାମାଣ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଉପରେ ପ୍ରଦାସୀକି କରିଛି । ବହୁତ-ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକ ଏହି ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଅଧିକ ନୟନ ଶା ପ୍ରଦାସ ବିଶାଳ କରି ସୁବିଧା । ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ସୁବିଧ ଅଧିବାସୀ ବ୍ୟାସ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ, ଧାରସାଧାରଣ ଅଧିବାସୀ ପରେ ବିବିଧ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ କରିପାରି, ଅଧିବାସୀ ବେଶାସୀକି ପ୍ରଦାସ କରିପାରି ଉପାସି ପ୍ରାମାଣ ବାସୀ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟ ଏବଂ ନୂତନ ଅନୁପ୍ରାପ୍ତ ଅଧିବାସୀକି । ଅଗ୍ରଣରେ ପ୍ରଦାସ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାକି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଯୋଗଦାନ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ବିଶେଷତା ଏହି ଅନୁପ୍ରାପ୍ତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପାଇଁ ବିଶେଷ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିପାରିବ ନାହିଁ ।

୧୧। ଅଧିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିବ ବିଶାଳ ପାଇଁ ନୂତନ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ—

ବିଶାଳ ବ-ପରିକି ବହୁ ବିବେକ ବିଶାଳ ହେବା ଅବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହା ଅନ ସାମୁଦାୟ ସମ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ପ୍ରଦାସୀକି

ହେଉଛି ଯେ କେତେକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିଶୁ ବିଳାଶ ହେବାଦ୍ୱାରା ଅନ୍ତର୍ଜନ ଆୟ ବୃଦ୍ଧି ପାଇଛି । ଯେତେବେଳେ ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗୀ-ଜଗତରୁ ଆବିଷ୍କାର ବିଳାଶର ଅନ୍ତର୍ଭୁକ୍ତ କରିବୁ, ତେବେ କେତେକ ବୈଧାନିକ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ଆମ ସାମ୍ନାକୁ ଆସୁଛି । ଖାଲିକି ଉଦାହରଣ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ଉନ୍ନତ ଶିକ୍ଷା ଉପ ଆବିଷ୍କାର ପାଖରେ କ'ଣ ପ୍ରତିଠିକ୍ଷାପୁଛି ? ଏହି ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ପ୍ରାକ୍ତନିକ ଗୁରୁତ୍ୱ ଅନୁସ୍ଥାନିତ ଏକାନ୍ତର ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦେବା ଉଚିତ । ଆଧୁନିକ ନୂତନ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଆବିଷ୍କାରୀ ଗୁଡ଼ିକ କରିବା ପାଇଁ କ'ଣ ଉତ୍ସାହ ? ଯଦି ଆମେ ଏହି ଶିକ୍ଷାଗତ ସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ବୁଦ୍ଧିଦେଇ କେତେ ବେଶିପାଠ୍ୟ ଯେ ଅଧିକାଂଶ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ନୂତନ ବ୍ୟବସାୟିକତାକୁ ଲଢ଼ ନେବା ପାଇଁ ଆବିଷ୍କାରୀ ସମ୍ମାନ ଶୋଭାଉନାହିଁ । ତେଣୁ ଆମେହିଁ ଉନ୍ନତ ଶିକ୍ଷା ଉପ ବଜାସାଧାରଣତଃ ବିଳାଶ ପ୍ରତି ଗୁରୁତ୍ୱ ଦିଅୁନୁହାଁ ବିଧାୟକ । ଯେ ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱର ଦ୍ୱ-ପ ଶିକ୍ଷାକ୍ରମର ପ୍ରତ୍ତିପାଦ ପ୍ରଚଳନ ସାମାଜିକ ଏବଂ କେବଳ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଜନ ବିଳାଶ ଉତ୍ତରର ଯଦି ଉନ୍ନତ ଶିକ୍ଷା ଏକାନ୍ତର ଶିଶୁ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ସାମାଜିକ ସମ୍ମାନର ସେ ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱର ଦିଶୁଛି ତେବେ ଆମେ ଆମେହିଁ ଶିକ୍ଷା ଉପ ବଜାସାଧାରଣତଃ ବିଳାଶ ପ୍ରତି ଗୁରୁତ୍ୱ ଦିଅୁନୁହାଁ ବିଧାୟକ । ଗ୍ରହୋପାଦାନର, ଆବିଷ୍କାର ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ପୁଣ୍ୟପୁର ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସାୟ ବଳୁ ଦେଖାଯାଉଛି । ଯଦି ଆମେ ଏହି ଶିକ୍ଷା ଉପ ବଜାସାଧାରଣତଃ ଆବିଷ୍କାର ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଅନୁସ୍ଥାନ କରି ଗୁରୁତ୍ୱ ଦିଅୁନୁହାଁ କେତେ ଏହା ସଫଳତା ଲାଭ କରିପାରିବ । ଯଦି ଏହି ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ଯେଉଁ ଶିଶୁବିଳାଶ ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗୀ ଚେତେବି ଶିକ୍ଷାଗତ ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱର ଦିଶୁଛି ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ପ୍ରତି ଶିକ୍ଷାଗତ ଉତ୍ତରର ଯୋଗାଯୋଗିତ

୧୬ । ସରଳ ଅଭିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କ ଦେହର ସ୍ୱ-ପର୍ଯ୍ୟବେଶ
ଅଳ୍ପ ଏବଂ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ପ୍ରାଣ, ବିଶ୍ୱାସକୁ ନିଆଯାଇପାରେ ।
ଅନ୍ତର୍ଜାତ ଦିନାଶ୍ରମନୀର ଅଭିବାସୀ ଅପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନର ବିଚିତ୍ର-
ତାରେ ପାଇଁ ଅଳ୍ପ ବାଣ୍ଟାବାଣ୍ଟିର ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ରତାକୁ ନିଜର ସ୍ୱାଧୀନ-
ତାକୁ ଦେଖି ବାଣ୍ଟିବାରେ ବାଣ୍ଟି ଚଳୁଥିବା ବିଶ୍ୱାସୀ ଶାସନ-
କର୍ତ୍ତାଙ୍କର ? ଦିନା ଏହା ପାଇଁ କୌଣସି ବିଶେଷ ପଦ୍ଧତି ରଖିଛି
କି ? ବାଣ୍ଟି ଶାସନର ସ୍ୱାଧୀନତା ଶୁଦ୍ଧିର ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟାରେ ଏହାର
ବିଶ୍ୱାସୀତ୍ୱର ଶୁଦ୍ଧିର ବିଚିତ୍ରତାରେ ପ୍ରତିବାଦ ଦେବାକୁ ଚାହୁଁଥିବା
କର୍ତ୍ତାଙ୍କର ? ଏହି ପ୍ରଶ୍ନର ଅପର ଦିଗ ପ୍ରତି ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦିଅନ୍ତୁ
କରିବା । ବାଣ୍ଟି ବିଚିତ୍ରତାକୁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟକ୍ଷରେ ଶୁଦ୍ଧି କରିବା ଏହାର
ବିଶେଷ ଗୁଣ ବୋଲି ମାନିନେବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ ? ଅପରା,
ବିଚିତ୍ରତାକୁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ପାଇଁ ଅସମ୍ଭବ ଏବଂ ଶିଳ ସାମଗ୍ରୀକୁ
ଏକ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟକ୍ଷର ଦୃଶ୍ୟରୁ ଶୁଦ୍ଧ କରିବା ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା କର୍ତ୍ତାଙ୍କର ପଡ଼ିବ ?
ସର୍ବ ବିଚିତ୍ରତାରେ ଏବଂ ଶୁଦ୍ଧତାବାହରତାକୁ ମୁକ୍ତପୁର ଏବଂ
ଅପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନର ଅସମ୍ଭବ ପ୍ରତି ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଅନ୍ତୁ
କରିବା, ସମସ୍ତ ଦେହର ଅଭିଳାଷ ଦିନାଶ୍ରମ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ
ସମୟରେ ଅଭିବାସୀ ଦିନାଶ୍ରମ ସୌଜନ୍ୟ ସାଧନ ଦିଅନ୍ତୁ ।
ଏହାକୁ ସୌଜନ୍ୟ ସାଧନ ବିଶ୍ୱାସୀଙ୍କର ଶାସନ ଅଭିବାସୀର ଦିନାଶ୍ରମ
ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟକ୍ଷ କର୍ତ୍ତାଙ୍କର ଶାସନ ଦିଅନ୍ତୁ ।
ଏହି ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ଅଭିବାସୀର ଅଭିଳାଷ ବିଚିତ୍ରତାକୁ
ଶୁଦ୍ଧ କରିବାପାଇଁ । ଏହିପରି ଶିଳ ସାମଗ୍ରୀରୁ ଶୁଦ୍ଧ କରିବା

ଭାବରେ ସୁଦୃଢ଼ କରାଯାଇଛି ଓ ଏହାକୁ ଶାନ୍ତୀର ସମ୍ପାଦନ ସୁଧା ବିକାଶରେ ଯୋଗ ଦେଇ କରାଯାଇଛି । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ସୁ-ଏ ଶିକ୍ଷାଦାନାବଳୀର ଉପର ଭାଗରେ ବିଭାଜନ କରାଯାଇ ଅନୁଶୀଳନା କରିଛି । ଅଭିବ୍ୟାସର ଶାନ୍ତୀର ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବହାର ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଶିବ ବ୍ୟବହାର ଦିବସିକରଣ, ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଅଙ୍ଗ ହୋଇଛି । ଅଭିବ୍ୟାସ ଅନ୍ତରର ଶିବ ବିଭାଜନରୁ ସୁଦୃଢ଼ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ କରିବା ସମ୍ପାଦନର ଶାନ୍ତୀର ସମ୍ପାଦନ ଏହାପାଇଁ କେବଳ ଅଭି-
ନାତରେ କରାଯୁଏ ହେଉଛି ବାହାର ମନସ୍ତତ୍ତ୍ୱରୁ ମଧ୍ୟ ସୁଦୃଢ଼ ଗୁଣର କରିବାକୁ ଚାହୁଁ । ଗପି ଅନେ ଦିନର ଅଭିବ୍ୟାସ ଅନ୍ତର ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନରୁ ଯେଉଁ ଯୋଗନାମା ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ଗଢ଼ାଯିବ ତାହାକୁ ଅଭ୍ୟାସରୁ କେବଳ ବାହାର ମନସ୍ତତ୍ତ୍ୱରୁ କରାଯାଏ । ଏହି ସମ୍ପାଦନରୁ ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଶିବ ବିଭାଜନ ଏବଂ ଅଭିବ୍ୟାସ ଅନ୍ତର ପାଇଁ ଏକ ସୁଦୃଢ଼ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ ଧାରା ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ କରିବା ଦିଆ ଏବଂ ସୁଦୃଢ଼ ସମ୍ପାଦନରୁ ଶାନ୍ତୀର ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ କରିବା ସମ୍ପାଦନ ହେଉଛି । ଏହା ସମ୍ପାଦନର ମଧ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ତରୁ । ଏହି ଶାନ୍ତୀର ଅନେ ଏକ ମନସ୍ତତ୍ତ୍ୱରୁ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ କରାଯାଇ ପଡ଼ିଛି ଯେ ଅଭିବ୍ୟାସ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଶିବ ବିଭାଜନ ଯୋଗନାମା ଅନୁଶୀଳନରୁ ଯୋଗପାତ୍ରକରି । ଅଭିବ୍ୟାସର ବିଭାଜନ ପାଇଁ ଏହି ଅନ୍ତରରେ ମନସ୍ତତ୍ତ୍ୱରୁ ଶାନ୍ତୀର କରାଯିବ ଏବଂ ଏହି ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଶିବ ବିଭାଜନରୁ ସୁଦୃଢ଼ ପାଇଁ ସୁଦୃଢ଼ ଗୁଣର କରିବା । ଏହି ଯୋଗନାମାରେ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବହାର ଦିବସିକରଣ ପାଇଁ ସୁଦୃଢ଼ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରିବା ଅବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହି ବ୍ୟବହାର ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଅଭିବ୍ୟାସର ସମ୍ପାଦନ କେବଳ ଦିବସିକରଣ କରିବ ।

୧୩ । କିନ୍ତୁ କେଉଁ ପାଇଁ ତାହା ଲାଭଦାୟକ —

କୌଣସି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିବ ଦିବାଳୀ ଓ ସ୍ନାନର ଆଦିବାସୀ
କେତଳେ ପ୍ରାୟତଃ କଥା ଦିଗୁର କରିବା ସମୟରେ ବୁଝି
ପାରିବାପରେକଳେ ପ୍ରାୟତଃ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟୁତ୍ତ ଦିବେଶୁଷଣ କରିବା
ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଶିବ ସ୍ନାନର ପାଇଁ ସ୍ନାନ ନିୟମକ୍ରମ ସାଧାରଣତଃ
ନିମ୍ନ ଭାବରେ ଦିଗୁର କରି ଦିଆଯାଏ ।

(ੳ) ਅਧਿਕ

(ଅ) ଇ-ଗୁରୁ ପାଠକର ବିକାଶ ପାଇଁ ଗାନ୍ଧି ଗ୍ରାଣ୍ଟ ମାଟ୍

(ସ) ପ୍ରତିରକ୍ଷା, ରାଜସ୍ୱ, ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ସାମାଜିକ ବିଭାଗ

୧୪ । ଭାରତ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ଦ୍ଵାରା ଲେଖାଯାଇଥିବା ପତ୍ର :-

(୧) ବଞ୍ଚାମାଛ ଚିକିତ୍ସା ଉପାଦାନର ମାତ୍ରା ଉପ-
ଭବ୍ୟ ।

(3) **କମ୍ପାନୀଗୁଡ଼ିକର ବ୍ୟବସାୟର ଉପରେ ପଡ଼ିଥିବା ପ୍ରଭାବ**

(କ) ଶୁଦ୍ଧ ଉପିକା

[illegible]

(୫) ଗୁରୁତ୍ୱା ଦିନିକି ଉପାଦାନ ସେବାରେ ସମ୍ମାନଦେୟ ।

କଟିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଏପିପାଣି ଦ-ଉର୍ଦ୍ଦାଂଂ ଦ୍ୟାବଦସ୍ୟ
ପୃଥିବୀ ବାସୀଙ୍କ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ହେବା ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ।

[illegible][illegible]

୨୦ । ଭାରତୀୟ ପଞ୍ଚାଙ୍ଗ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାପନ—ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ପଞ୍ଚାଙ୍ଗ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାପନା, ପଞ୍ଚାଙ୍ଗରେ ଶିବ ଚିନ୍ତାମଣି ସଂପର୍କୀତ ଗୋପବ୍ରତ ଉପଲକ୍ଷେ ପଞ୍ଚାଙ୍ଗ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାପନା କରାଯିବ । ପଞ୍ଚାଙ୍ଗ

[illegible]

୨୧ । ଦିବିକ ଅବିବାଦୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶିବ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ପାଇଁ ଭବନର ପଣିଆ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପ୍ରାୟାଶତଃ ରହିଥାଏ । ଏହିପାଇଁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଭବନ ଅଭିଯାୟୀ ଶିବ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ଓ ଉପହାର ଛଡ଼ି ବିଅଛି ବୈବାଦୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ସମସ୍ତ ମଧ୍ୟ ଗ୍ରାମେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ହୋଇ ରହିବା ଛଡ଼ିବ । ଏହା ଅମ୍ଭ ବାମ୍ବୁରେ ପ୍ରାୟତଃ ହୋଇ ଉଡୁଥିବ ଦିବିକ ଶିବ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ପାଇଁ ବସ ଏବଂ ଭବାଦ୍ୟ ପାଇଁ ସରକାର ପ୍ରୟୋଗ କରିବା ଦେବା ପାଇଁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଏକ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ସମୟର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହିଛି । ଯଥାପି ଶୁଦ୍ଧ ଏବଂ ମଧ୍ୟାହ୍ନ ଧରଣର ଶିବ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ପାଇଁ ସାମାନ୍ୟ ମନ୍ତ୍ର ଓ ଚାଉଁ ଶିବ ପାଇଁ ବାଉଁ ସମୟର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତାକୁ ଅବିବାଦୀ ଭବନର ପ୍ରାଣିକ ଗହଳ ଏହାପରି ପ୍ରାଣିକ ଛଡ଼ି ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ହୋଇଥାଏ ଏବଂ ଅମ୍ଭ ପିତାମହ ଏହାର ପରିଚାଳନା କରି ଓ ଏହାର ସାମାନ୍ୟ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟତାକୁ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଦେଇ ବୁଝାଇ ଦେଇଛନ୍ତି । ଅବିବାଦୀ ସମାଜରେ ଅବିବାଦୀ ସାଧାରଣ କୌଣସି ଦିବିକ ଛେଡ଼ାଇ ନପାଞ୍ଚିକର ପଥା ମୁହଁ ଶିବ ବାଦ୍ୟର ଅନୁସୂଚ ଶିବ ବାଦ୍ୟରୁ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ସମୟରେ ଅବିବାଦୀ ଛେଡ଼ାଇ ଦୁଇ ପକ୍ଷର ପରିଚରଣ ଯଥା ଶାସ୍ତ୍ର କରିବାପାଇଁ ପାରେ, ଏହି ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱକୁ ଚକ୍ର ଏହାପରି ଖ୍ୟାତ ହୋଇପାରେ ।

୨୨ । ପ୍ରସିଦ୍ଧ ବ୍ୟବସାୟୀ ଏବଂ ସାଧାରଣ ଯୋଗଦେଇ
ପରିସୀମିତ ।—

ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ଆକ୍ଷେପଣ ଗ୍ରହଣରେ ବ୍ୟର୍ଥ ଯୋଗଦେଇ
ଆଧୁନିକ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଆରମ୍ଭର ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ଉପରେ ବିଶେଷ ଯୋଗ
ଦିଆଯାଉଛି । ଉପର ଖଣ୍ଡରେ ବ୍ୟର୍ଥ ଯୋଗଦେଇ ଶ୍ରମିକ ଶାସିତ

ଅର୍ଥରେ ପ୍ରକଟ କରିବା ଅନୁଚିତ । ପୁରାତନ ଅର୍ଥବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଅନୁସାରେ ଉପକାୟାଗତ ବୃଦ୍ଧି କରରେ ଅର୍ଥରେ ବିଧିର ବହୁଥିଲେ । ଏମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ଦିକ୍ଷିତ ଯେଉଁ କାଳିକାଳୀ ମଧ୍ୟ ବହୁଥିଲେ । ଏହିପାଇଁ ପାରମ୍ପରିକ କାଳିକାଳୀ ଆଧୁନିକ ଉଚ୍ଚ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣର ମୁଖ୍ୟ ବିଧିବିଧାନ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ପରନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ନୂତନ ଉଚ୍ଚ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣରୁ ଶିକ୍ଷା କରିବା ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ସମ୍ଭବ ଯେଉଁମାନେ ପ୍ରକୃତା ଦଳ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣ ପ୍ରତି ସେମାନେ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରୁଅଛନ୍ତି, ଯେଉଁମାନେ ଅନୁଚିତ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦିଅନ୍ତିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗରେ ତଥେଷ୍ଟ ସାଧାରଣ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ଭବିଷ୍ୟତ ଦିଅନ୍ତି କରିବାପରେ, ଉଚ୍ଚ ବିଧିର ବେଳେ, ବୃଣ୍ଣାବୃଦ୍ଧି କାଳ ମଧ୍ୟ କରିବାପରେ । ଯେମାନେ ବିବାହ ଯେତେ ପ୍ରକାରରେ, ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି କୌଣସି ପ୍ରକାରରେ ଆସେ ତେଣୁ କରିବାପରେ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଯଦି ବିବାହର ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ଯେତେ ଅନୁଚିତ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ସମାଜକୁ ଦିଗ୍ରହ ଏବଂ ନୂତନ ଯୋଗ୍ୟତା ଅର୍ଥରେ କରି ବିଷୟରେ ଶାନ୍ତ ନେବାପରେ ସ୍ୱାତନ୍ତ୍ର୍ୟ କରାଯାଏ ଏବଂ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବହାର ବିଧିବିଧାନର କରାଯାଏ । ଏହି ପାଇଁ ସାମାଜିକ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକୋଣରେ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବହାର ସାଧାରଣ ବିଧିବିଧାନରୁ ଉଚ୍ଚ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରର ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଅର୍ଥରେ କରିବିଧି ସମ୍ଭବରେ କରାଯାଏ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହିପାଇଁ ଅନେକ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟର ଅନୁଚିତ ପାଇଁ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ପାରମ୍ପରିକ କାଳିକାଳୀ ବିଧିର ପ୍ରକାର, ଦିଗ୍ରହ ଓ ନୂତନ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟ ସହିତ ସମକକ୍ଷ କରିବାକୁ ପାଇଁ ବିଧିବିଧାନ । ଆଧୁନିକ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସଂଗଠିତ ଶୁଦ୍ଧ ଶୁଦ୍ଧ ସାଧାରଣ କୌଣସି, ଯେଉଁମାନେ ସମସ୍ତ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ସମାଜ ପାଇଁ ସଂଗ୍ରହ କରାଯାଏ ମୁଖ୍ୟ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ ବିଷୟରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଏକ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଧାରଣା ଦେବାଅତି ଉଚ୍ଚତା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏକାନ୍ତରେ ଯେତେ କୋଟି ଧରଣର ଦେପାରି, ଯଥା କୌଣସି ସମ୍ପଦ, କୋଟି କୋଟି ପିଲା କାଳ କଟାଏ ବିଷୟ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ପାଇଁ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଏହି ବିଧିବିଧାନର ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ପ୍ରକୃତ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଶିକ୍ଷା" ଏମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଏକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ପ୍ରଦାନ କରିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟାମାନଙ୍କୁ ନୂତନ ସମାଜର ସହ ପରିଚିତ କରାଯାଏ ଏହାର ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ । ଏହି ନୂତନ ପ୍ରକାରଣର ଅଧ୍ୟାୟ ଉପରେ ଶାନ୍ତ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବହାର ସାଧାରଣ ବିଧିବିଧାନର ବିସ୍ତୃତ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ କରାଯାଏ ନିଆଯାଉଛି । ଏହିପ୍ରକାର ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ଅନୁଚିତ ଯେତେ ଯେ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗରେ ଶିବ ପ୍ରକାର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି କୌଣସି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ତତ୍ପରା ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର ବିଧି ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ଅନୁସୂଚକ କୋଣ ବିଶାଳ ସହ କରିବେ ।

୨୩ । କୌଣସି ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗରେ ଶିବକାଳି ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଶିବ କୌଣସି ଏକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ବସ୍ତୁ ପ୍ରଦାନ ଅର୍ପଣ । ଯେଉଁ ପ୍ରକାରରେ ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗରେ ବୃଦ୍ଧି ଏବଂ ଶିବର ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରିବା, ଦେପାରେ ଅର୍ଥରେ ବିଧି ବହୁକାରଣ କୋଣ ବିଶାଳ କର କରିବ ଏବଂ ଏହା ସମାଜ ସାମାଜିକ କ୍ଷିତି କରି ପାରିବ । ଯାହାକି ଉପରେ ଏହି କୌଣସି ଅର୍ଥକାଳି ଦେବେ କେଉଁଠି ପିତେଇ ଯାଉଛି, କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ପ୍ରକାର

ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗରେ ଏହି ପ୍ରକାରକରଣ ଦେବ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟାରେ ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ଏବଂ କର୍ମକାଳ କୋଣକାଳି । ଏହି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ସମାଜର କ୍ଷିତି ଅର୍ଥ ସହର ପ୍ରଦାନ ପ୍ରଦାନ ଅନୁସୂଚକ ଅର୍ପଣ । ଏବଂ ନୂତନ ସମାଜର କ୍ଷିତିକୁ ପ୍ରତିବନ୍ଧକ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗ ଦୁଇ । ଅପର ଦିଗରେ ଅନେକ ଆଧୁନିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଏ-ଶିବ, ଶିବକାଳୀ ଓ ବହୁକାରଣ ଦେପାରେ । ଏହା ସାଧାରଣ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତା ସଂଗଠନରେ ଅନୁଚିତ । ଯେଉଁପାଇଁ ସେ ନୂତନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାଳି ଅର୍ଥରେ ସମାଜକଳା ଆଧୁନିକ ସମାଜ ଓ ଆଧୁନିକ ସମାଜକୁ ପ୍ରତି ସମାଜରେ ବୃଦ୍ଧିପାରେ ନାହିଁ । ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ନିଜ ପାରମ୍ପରିକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାଳିକୁ ସହରରେ ଶାନ୍ତି ସାମାଜିକ ବା ପ୍ରଦାନର କିରାକରାପକୁ ଅର୍ଥକାଳିକ କରି ବୃଦ୍ଧିପାରେନାହିଁ । ନୂତନ ଶିବ ଦେପାରେ ପାଇଁ ଆବଶ୍ୟକୀୟ ଉଚ୍ଚ ଏବଂ ସମାଜ ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ପ୍ରଦାନକୁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାଳୀ କୋଣକାଳୀରେ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଉଚ୍ଚତା ପ୍ରଦାନ ମଧ୍ୟ ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ଏହା ଅତି ଉଚ୍ଚତାପ୍ରାଥମିକ କୋଣ ଯେ ଆଧୁନିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ଶାନ୍ତି ଶିବସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଅର୍ଥରେ ସାମାଜିକ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ । ଏହିପାଇଁ ବହୁକାରଣରେ ଉଚ୍ଚ ଧରଣର ଶିବ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ହେଉଅଛି । ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ପାଇଁ ତଥା କୌଣସି ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ତଥା ଲଘୁ ଶିବ କୌଣସି ଓ ଏହାର କୋଣକାଳୀ ଏକ ବସ୍ତୁ ଧରଣର କୌଣସି ସମାଜରେ ଦେଖାଦେଉଛି । ଏହିପାଇଁ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗରେ କୌଣସି ଓ କୌଣସିକର ଅଧ୍ୟାୟ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟାରେ କରିବିଧି ହେଉଅଛି ।

୨୪ । କୌଣସି-କୌଣସିକରଣକାଳୀ ପାଇଁ ଅନେକ ଏକ ତଥା ଅତି ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ କାରଣରେ ଅନେକ ଆସନ୍ତେ ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗରେ ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାଳୀ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ବିଶ୍ୱାସଯୋଗ୍ୟ ଏବଂ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିକର ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତାକୁ ଅତି ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ସହ ବିଶ୍ୱାସ । ଏହାର ବହୁକାରଣର ଅଧ୍ୟାୟ ଉପରେ ଆଧୁନିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ସ୍ୱାତନ୍ତ୍ର୍ୟ ଓ ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତାକୁ ଅନେକ ଦୃଢ଼ କାଳ ଦେଉଅଛି । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ନୂତନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାଳୀରେ କୌଣସିକର ଉଚ୍ଚ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାଳୀ ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ଏହିପ୍ରକାର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ସମାଜ ପ୍ରଦେଶ ନିବେଶ, ଉପାଦାନ, କାଳୀ ଲଘୁକୃତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାଳୀ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ବିଶ୍ୱାସଯୋଗ୍ୟ । ଏହି ସମାଜରେ ସାଧାରଣ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟାକୁ ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ଅନୁସନ୍ଧାନ ଦେବା କରିବ କୋଣକାଳୀ । ଯଦି ସେ ନୂତନ ସମାଜର ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ବହୁକାରଣରେ ବୃଦ୍ଧିପାରେ ତେବେ ସମାଜର ଏହି ନୂତନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାଳୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ କରି କରିବା ବା ପ୍ରକାରରେ ସହ କୋଣକାଳୀ । ଯେଉଁ ଶିବିତ ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ କୋଣକାଳୀ ପ୍ରକାରରେ ବିଧି ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ, ସେମାନେ ଏହି ନୂତନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାଳୀକୁ ଅତି ଆଦରରେ ପ୍ରକଟ କରିପାରିବେ । ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ କୋଣକାଳୀରେ ଯେ ଏହି ଦୃଢ଼ିତା ଦେଖା, ବିଧିର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ କରି, ବହୁକାରଣ ପାଇଁ କାଳୀ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତାରେ ଶାନ୍ତ କୋଣକାଳୀ । ଏହି କାରଣସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ପାଇଁ ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର ବିଧି ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନରେ ସହର ମଧ୍ୟ କୋଣକାଳୀରେ, ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ ବହୁକାରଣ ଅତି ସ୍ୱାଭାବିକ । ଆଉ ଏହା ସମାଜର ଏପାରେ ବିଶ୍ୱାସଯୋଗ୍ୟ । ସାଧାରଣ ଅଭିବାଦ୍ୟା କୋଣକାଳୀର ସମାଜର ସହରକାଳୀ ସହ

[illegible]

ଉତ୍ତରରେ “ସୁ ବୋଧନୀ” ଅଭିବାଦା ପାଇଁ ଏକ ଚିଠି ଦାବିଲା ଏବଂ ଏହା ଶାନ୍ତିବାନୀ ଯୋଗେ ପାରିତ ହିଁ ? ଏପରିକି ଚୌଧୁରୀ ଉଦ୍ୟାନ-କୌଶଳକୁ ଅଭିବାଦା ପାଇଁ ପ୍ରୋକ୍ସନେ ବିସ୍ତୃତ କରାଯାଇପାରିବ । ମିତ୍ରାଦିତ୍ୟ ବିଶ୍ୱାଳ କାହିଁକି ବୋଧନୀ ଦଳର ଏକ- ସାଧାରଣ ଚିନ୍ତାଧାରାକାରୀ ନିବିଷ୍ଟକୁ ପାଇଁ ସରକାରୀ ସମ୍ବିଧାନ ଲାଞ୍ଜିତ ହେଉଅଛି । ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ପାଇଁ ସାଧାରଣ ସ-ସା ବିପ୍ଳବ ଅସମ୍ଭବ କରୁଛି । ଏହି ଦାବିରେ ସରକାର ଉଦ୍ୟାନ-କୌଶଳ ଆଧାରୀ ଅସିବି ଶିକ୍ଷାକଳାପ ପ୍ରୋକ୍ସନେ ସ-ସାଧାରଣ ଦାବିରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରୁଅଛି । ଏହାକୁ ମୁଁ ଉଦ୍ୟୋଗ ହେଉଛି ଅଭିବାଦାକୁ ଶୋଷଣକୁ ଲାଭିବା ଏବଂ ଦେଶର ପ୍ରସିଦ୍ଧତାକୁ ମୁହାଟ ଦିଏଇ ଲାଭିକରକୁ ହେତୁକର ନିବେଦନ ପ୍ରକାଶକର । ପରସ୍ତ ଏକକ ପ୍ରମାଣ ଏବଂ ବିଚିତ୍ର ଗଠିଛି ଏବଂ ଏହାର ବିସ୍ତରଣର ଅନୁ ରୂପରେ ଦେଇ ଉପସନ୍ନକର ।

ନିର୍ଜନ ଦେବାଦୁ ହେବ । ସାଧାରଣତଃ ଗୁରୁତ ଶିବ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ ତଥା ଉଚ୍ଚିତ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ପ୍ରାୟ ଅନୁନିର୍ମିତ ନାହିଁ । ଉପରେ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତିତ । ଏହି ଉ-ଘାଟ ଅବରୂପ ସାମାଜିକ ସେବା ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନର ଅବସ୍ଥା-ଗଣା ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହି ଏକ ଶୈଳିରୁ ଶିବାନ୍ତରଣ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥିତ ପାଇଁ ସୁରକ୍ଷିତ ଗଣାଯାଏ । ଏହିପରି ଭାବରେ ଅନୁରୋଧ ଅନ୍ଧ-ମାନବରେ, ଯେଉଁଠାରେ ଏକ ଘୋର ଧରଣର ସେବା ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ଗଠିତା ଅବସର ହୋଇଗଲାଣି, ଯେଠାରେ ଏକ ସାମାଜିକ ଯୋଦ୍ଧା ପାଇଁ ଅତି ବିବର୍ଣ୍ଣିତ ସେବା ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଶିବାନ୍ତରଣ ବର୍ଷ ତଥା ଅଦିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସାମାଜିକ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧର ଯାଗର କରିଥାଏ । ବୟସ୍କ ଅନୁରୋଧ ଅଦିବାସୀ ଅନ୍ଧକରେ ଅଧୁନିକ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧର ପ୍ରବେଶ ଉପ ପରେ ଶିଶୁ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ଓ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ସାମାଜିକ ଘାଟିତ ହେଉଅଛି । ଯଦି ଶିବ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧିତ “ଶ୍ରମିକ ଉତ୍ପାଦନ” ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ସାମାଜିକ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଅନୁପ୍ରାପ୍ତ ହେଉ ତେବେ ପୂର୍ବଦର୍ଶିତ ବିଜ୍ଞାନ ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ସୃଷ୍ଟି ହେବା ସ୍ୱାଭାବିକ । ସାଧାରଣତଃ ଏହି ତଥ୍ୟକୁ ଅନେକ ଉପାୟରେ ଯେ ଏହି ଶିବାନ୍ତରଣ ଶିବ ଶ୍ରମିକ ଏହି ଅନ୍ଧକରେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ନୁହଁନ୍ତି । ସ୍ୱ-ସ ମନବୁର ଶେଷା ଶାମଲ ଅର୍ଥରେ ଏବଂ ସାମାଜିକ ଗତିର ବହୁ ପ୍ରକରେ ଗଠିଥାଆନ୍ତି । ଏହି ଭାବରେ ଉପ ଶିବାନ୍ତରଣ ପ୍ରକୃତି ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ଶେଷାସ୍ତ୍ର ହୋଇ ଗଲେ । ନୂତନ ପରିବେଶରେ ଅଦିବାସୀର ଅର୍ଥିକ ଗତି ପ୍ରାୟ ସର୍ବୋଚ୍ଚ ହୋଇଗଲେ । ନୂତନ ସେବାଦାତା ସାମାଜିକ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନର ଅର୍ଥିକ ଭାର ପିପାରି ଭାବରେ ପରିଣତ ବ-ଘା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିଭାଜିତ ହୋଇପାରିବ ତାହା ଏବେ ଅଜଣା ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧିତ ସମାଧାନ ସମ୍ଭବପଣ । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ବ-ଘା ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧିତ ପିପାରି ଭାବରେ ସ୍ୱାଧୀନ କରିବେ ଏବଂ ଏହି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଉପିବିପ୍ରାଣିତ ସାମାଜିକ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନର ଉପ ବ୍ୟବହାର ତଥା ଗୋଟିଏ ଉପ ଶିବାନ୍ତରଣ ଓ ଶିବ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଅନ୍ଧକମାନବରେ ଦେଖାଯିବା ଅନୁକୃତି ।

ମାତ୍ର । ଶାମଲ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ଶୈଳିଗମନର ଅନୁରୋଧ ହୁଏ—

ଏହା ବ-ପର୍ବରେ ତଥା ଏକ ବିପରୀତ ବିପ୍ଳବ ହେବା ଅବଶ୍ୟକ । ସାଧାରଣତଃ ଯେ ଗୋଟିଏ ଶିବ ଉ-ଘାଟ ଶାମଲ ସମାଜରୁ ଏହା ଅଣା କରିଥାଏ ଯେ ଏହି ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ଘାଟିତ ହେବା ଉପରେ ଉପାଦାନର ସମାଜ ତା’ର ବାଣିଜ୍ୟକୁ ନୂତନ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିପାରି ସାମିବ କରିପାରେ । ଶିବ ଅଦିବାସୀ ଅନ୍ଧକରୁ ଉତ୍ପତ୍ତି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ବାଣିଜ୍ୟରେ ଏପରି କେବେ ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରନ୍ତି ଯେ ସାଧାରଣ ଅଦିବାସୀ ନୂତନ ଜୀବନରେ ନିଜକୁ ବଦଳାଇ ପାରନ୍ତା । ପରିବେଶରେ ଏହା ଉପ ହୁଏ ଯେ ଶିବ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନପ୍ରାପ୍ତିର ବଦଳରେ ଏବଂ ଅତି ସାଧାରଣ ଭାବରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ପ୍ରାଥମିକତା ପାଇଥାଆନ୍ତି । ଏଠାରେ ଏହା ସୁରକ୍ଷିତ ଗଣାଯାଇପାରେ ଯେ ଶିବ ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା ଅଦିବାସୀ ଅନ୍ଧକରେ ଅନୁରୋଧ ନ ହେବା ଅତି ସ୍ୱାଭାବିକ ତଥା । ଯଦି ଅନେକ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ଚାହାଁନ୍ତି ଶିବର ଉଚ୍ଚତାସ ପରିବେଶର ଉପ

କେବେ ଏହି ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ବ-ପର୍ବରେ ଏକ ନୋଟା ନୋଟି ଧାରଣା ଅନେକ ପାଇପାରିବା । ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଉପରେ ଚାହାଁନ୍ତି ଶିବ ପାଇଁ ପ୍ରାୟ ପରିପା-ଏ ଶ୍ରମିକ ଉପରେ ଉପରୋଧ ଅନୁସ୍ଥିତ ହେଉ ଅବସ୍ଥା ଅନେକ ଅତି ଅଦିବାସୀ ଅଧିବାସୀର ଅନ୍ଧକରେ ଦେଖିପାରୁ । ପ୍ରାୟ ଉପରୁ ପ୍ରାୟ ଶିବ ବ-ପର୍ବରେ ଧାରଣା ଦେବାପାଇଁ ବହୁ ସମୟ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ । ବୟସ୍କ ଯେଉଁ ସମୟରେ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ଚାହାଁନ୍ତି ଶିବରୁ ଶିବ ଅନୁରୋଧ କରି ଚାହାଁନ୍ତି ହେଉ । ଏହା ଅନ୍ଧରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ବିବକ ପଥା ନୁହଁ । ଅନ୍ଧର ବାଣିଜ୍ୟ ଅର୍ଥିକ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ ବିବକରେ ସମ୍ଭବ ହୋଇପାରେ ଶ୍ରମିକ ଶେଷା ନୂତନ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଶିବ ଏବଂ ଶିବ ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧର ସମ୍ଭାରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ବିବକ ପଥା ନୁହଁ । ଶିବ ଏହି ଗତି ଏବେ ବଦଳିପାରେ । ଉପର ଅନ୍ଧକର ଶ୍ରମିକଶେଷା ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧିତ ଭାବରେ ଅର୍ଥିକ ତଥା ଉପାଦାନ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରର ଅନୁସାଧନ ଏବଂ ବାଣିଜ୍ୟର ସମ୍ଭବ ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ହୋଇପାରେ । ଏପରିକି ଅଦିବାସୀ ପରିସ୍ଥିତିରେ ଶିବ ବିବକର ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ବିବକର ବିବକ ପଥା ମଧ୍ୟ ମିଳିପାରେ । ଏହି ଭାବରେ ଶିବ ବହୁତ ଅନ୍ଧକ ଶାମଲ ଶ୍ରମିକମାନଙ୍କୁ ଅବହେଳା କରୁଛି

ମାତ୍ର । ଏହି ତଥ୍ୟର ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ଏହା ଅତି ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ଯେ, ଅଦିବାସୀ ଅନ୍ଧକରେ ନୂତନ ଶିବ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା, ଯେଉଁ ଅନ୍ଧକର ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ଅର୍ଥିକ-ସାମାଜିକ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ରତା ଉପରେ ଗଠିପାରିଥାଏ । ନୂତନ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଅଦିବାସୀ ଅନ୍ଧକରେ ଶିବକୁ ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା ଅନୁସାଧନ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଏହା ଅନ୍ଧକରେ ସାଧାରଣ ଅଦିବାସୀ ଏହା ସହିତ ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ହୋଇପାରିବ ନାହିଁ । ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ସମ୍ଭବ ଯେ ସାଧାରଣ ଅଦିବାସୀ ଏପରି ବାଣିଜ୍ୟର ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ନୁହଁ, ଯେଉଁ ନିଜର ସାମାଜିକ ବାଣିଜ୍ୟ ବ-ପର୍ବରେ ହଠାତ୍ ସବେଳେ ହୋଇପାରେ । ଶିବ ଯେ ନିଜର ସାଧାରଣତା ସାମାଜିକ ଜୀବନ ସହିତ ଗଠିପାରି ଉପରେ କହିବ । କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଗା ପାଇଁ ଯେପରି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ପରମାର ହୋଇଛି, ଯେପରି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର କରାଯାଉ ଚାହିଁବ । ଉପରୋଧସ୍ୱରୂପ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ରତା ଉପରେ ଯେ ଅନେକ ଅଦିବାସୀ ଅଧୁନିକ ଅନ୍ଧକରେ ସାମାଜିକ ଅନ୍ଧ ପଥା ସୁରକ୍ଷିତ କରିପାରିବ । ଅର୍ଥିକ ତଥା ଭାବରେ କହିବାକୁ ଉପରେ ଯଦି ଅନେକ ଏକ ବିଶ୍ୱାସୀ ବ-ଘା ଶ୍ରମିକ ସୃଷ୍ଟି ହେବେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଉପରୋଧି ଉପରୋଧର ବାଣିଜ୍ୟ ହେବା ଏବଂ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ବ-ପର୍ବରୁ ପ୍ରାୟ ଶିବ ବହୁତ ଉପରୁ ଲୁଚିହେବା ଘଟିପାରି ଅବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଶାମଲ ଅଦିବାସୀ ନେତୃତ୍ୱ ଉପରେ ଶାମି ବିଶ୍ୱାସୀ ଏବଂ ଏକ ବିଶ୍ୱାସୀ ବ-ଘା ଶ୍ରମିକ ଯୋଦ୍ଧା ଉପାଦାନ । ଯଦି ଏହିପରି ଯୋଦ୍ଧା-ସତ ଯୋଦ୍ଧାସତରୁ ସ୍ୱାଧୀନ ଉପାଦାନ ହେବେ ଶିବ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନ-ମାନଙ୍କୁ ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ବ-ଘା ଶ୍ରମିକ ମିଳିପାରେ ଏବଂ ତଥା ନିଜରେ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଶ୍ରମିକର ଅନ୍ଧକର ସ୍ଥିତି ମିଳିପାରେ । ଏହା ସ୍ୱାଭାବିକ ଯେ ନିଜର ସୃଷ୍ଟି ତଥା ସାମାଜିକ ଉପରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ସାମାଜିକ କରିପାରିବ । ଏଠାରେ ଏହା ଅତି ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ଭାବରେ ଉପରୋଧି ଯେ ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ଅନ୍ଧକର ଅନ୍ଧକର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଉପରେ ବାଣିଜ୍ୟର ହେବ ।

ମାତ୍ର । ଏଠାରେ ଅନଳୁ ଧ୍ୟାନ ଦେବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିଥାଏ ଯେ ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ସମୟରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ନିଜ ବିଷୟରେ କ'ଣ ବିଚାରଣ କରିପାରୁଛି ଏବଂ ତା' ମନ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଶିବ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ କି ପ୍ରକାର ଧାରଣା ରହିପାରୁଛି । ଅନ୍ତର୍ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅନ୍ତରକୁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଶ୍ରମିକମାନେ ସଫଳତା ଅନ୍ତରର ଲୋକପାତ୍ର ଏବଂ ଇନ୍ଦ୍ର ବିଷୟରେ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ପ୍ରଦତ୍ତ । ସେମାନେ ଏହା ଉପକ୍ରମରେ ବୁଦ୍ଧିଆତ୍ମକ ଯେ ଯଦି ଅନ୍ତର ଦେ ଶ୍ରମିକ ଦାନ ପାଇଥାଏ ତେବେ ତାହା ଉଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ଉତ୍ତରମାନ ଲୋକପାତ୍ର । ସାମୁଦ୍ରିକ ଶ୍ରମିକରୁ ଯେ ଇନ୍ଦ୍ରା ଉଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ଏବଂ ସାମି କାଳର ପାଇଁ ଯେ ଉତ୍ତର ଉଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ପାଇଥାଏ । ବିଷ୍ଣୁ ସାଧାରଣ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଏହି ବିଷୟରେ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ପ୍ରଦତ୍ତ । ସେ ନିଜ ବିଦ୍ୟାମାନିତୁ ଶାସ୍ତ୍ର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଦେଖି ମାନିଷ୍ଟପାତ୍ର । ଯଦି ଅନ୍ତର ଏହି ବୈଜ୍ଞାନିକ ପିଣ୍ଡ ଶ୍ରମିକ ବିଷୟ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଉପେକ୍ଷା କରାଯାଉଛି ତେବେ ପ୍ରାୟତଃ ପାଉଁଶିବା । ମନୁଷ୍ୟ ପାତ୍ର ସେମାନେ ଅଧିକ ମନୁଷ୍ୟ ପାଉଁଶିବା ଏବଂ ଶିବାକଳରେ କାମ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଉପାଦାନ କରନ୍ତି । ଏପରି ଶାସ୍ତ୍ରରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ମୂଳରୁ ପିଣ୍ଡ ପିଣ୍ଡ ପିଣ୍ଡ ଅପେକ୍ଷା କରନ୍ତି ।

ମାତ୍ର । ମୂଳରୁ ପିଣ୍ଡ ସହ ଦୈବୀକର ବୁଝାମଣା—

ଶିବାକଳ ଓ ଏହାର ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅନ୍ତର ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଅନ୍ତର ଦୂରରେ କରାଯାଏ ଏବଂ ଏହାକୁ ସମ୍ପାଦନାରେ ବୁଝାମଣା ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହିଛି । ଶିବ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାପନରେ “ବୁଦ୍ଧବର୍ତ୍ତୀ” ଏବଂ “ବୁଦ୍ଧବର୍ତ୍ତୀ” ଧାରଣା ଦେବ ଦେବେ ଶିବ ବୁଦ୍ଧ ଦେବତା ଏବଂ ଏହାର ଧାରଣା ପ୍ରକାଶ ଦେଇ ଅନ୍ତର ନିଜର ଅନ୍ତର ବିଦ୍ୟାରେ ଅନ୍ତର ଉପାଦାନ । ବିଷ୍ଣୁ ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅନ୍ତର ଆଦିବାସୀ ବୁଝାମଣା ଏହି ସାମାଜିକତାରେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ହେଉଛି । ପରିସାଧନାରେ କଳାକୃତିରୁ ସହଜ ପ୍ରକାର ବୁଦ୍ଧରେ କଳାକୃତିର ଅପେକ୍ଷାକୁ ବୁଦ୍ଧ ଅନ୍ତର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହିଛି । ମୋଟାମୋଟି ଭାବରେ ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର ଦେଖିବାକୁ ଶକ୍ତି ପ୍ରାଣୀର ଅପେକ୍ଷାରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅନ୍ତର ପାର୍ବତୀ ପ୍ରଦେଶରେ ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର ଅତି ବୁଦ୍ଧ ପ୍ରଦେଶର ଉପକ୍ରମରେ ରହିଛି । ଏହି ବସନ୍ତର ମୂଳାକାର ଦୈବୀକର ବୁଦ୍ଧ ସମ୍ପାଦନାରେ କରାଯାଏ । ସେହି ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ଦେବ ସହିତ ପରିଚିତ ଥା ନିଜର ୨୫ ମାସର ବୁଦ୍ଧ ବିଶେଷ ପ୍ରକାରରେ । ବିଷ୍ଣୁ ଅନ୍ତର ପ୍ରାଣୀ ପ୍ରକାରର ପରି ସାମି ଏବଂ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଏହା ଅତି ସାମି ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ଏପରିକି କଳା ପ୍ରକାଶର ଆଧାରକୁ ସମ୍ପାଦନାରେ ଅନ୍ତର ଦେଖାଯାଏ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ପ୍ରକାର ପ୍ରଦେଶ କରାଯାଏ ମଧ୍ୟ । ଯଦି କୌଣସି ପରିସାଧନା ଶାନ୍ତୀର ସମ୍ପାଦନାକୁ ଉତ୍ତର ଦେଖାଯାଏ ତେବେ ଏହାର ସହଜ ପ୍ରଦେଶକୁ ବିଶାଳ ନିବଦେଶୀ ଅନ୍ତର ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର ପ୍ରକାଶର ସେହି ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିମାନେ ପ୍ରକାଶରୁ ଶାନ୍ତୀର ଉପକ୍ରମ ଦେଖି ଅନ୍ତର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଏହାର ପ୍ରକାର ଏବଂ ସମ୍ପାଦନାକୁ ବୁଦ୍ଧାବଳରେ ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ଅନ୍ତର ବିଷୟରେ ଯଦି ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର ଅନ୍ତର

ଶିବ ବିଷୟରେ ବିଶାଳରେ ଦେବ ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅନ୍ତର ବିଷୟରେ ଏବଂ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଧାରଣା ସେ ପାଇ ପାରେନାହିଁ । ଅନ୍ତର ବିଷୟ ପିଣ୍ଡ ଉପକ୍ରମ ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ବୁଝି ପ୍ରଦତ୍ତ । ଏପରିକି ବୁଦ୍ଧପ୍ରକାର ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକୋଣ ଓ ପ୍ରାଣୀମାନ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସାମାଜିକ ପ୍ରକାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକ ଏବଂ ପ୍ରଦେଶ ପ୍ରଦେଶରୁ ପିଣ୍ଡ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ସମ୍ପାଦନା ଦେବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏବଂ ସାମିର ଉପକ୍ରମେ ଶିବ ବିଶାଳ ଅନ୍ତରରେ କଳା କଳା ବୁଦ୍ଧ ଉପକ୍ରମ ଉପକ୍ରମରେ ବିଶାଳ ଏବଂ ପ୍ରାଣୀରୁ ବୁଦ୍ଧ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ଏହି ସମ୍ପାଦନା କରନ୍ତି ସମ୍ପାଦନା ଦେଖାଯାଏ ।

ମାତ୍ର । ବୁଦ୍ଧ ଏବଂ ବିଶାଳ ସମ୍ପାଦନା ବୁଦ୍ଧ ଏବଂ ସାମାଜିକ ମନୋବୈଜ୍ଞାନିକ ସମ୍ପାଦନା ପ୍ରଦତ୍ତ । ସାମାଜିକ ସମ୍ପାଦନା ପିଣ୍ଡରେ କୌଣସି ଶିବ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ତର ପ୍ରଦେଶ ସାମାଜିକ କରନ୍ତି ଏବଂ ବିଶାଳରେ କଳା କଳା ପ୍ରଦେଶରେ ସମ୍ପାଦନା ଏପରି ବୁଦ୍ଧ ବିଶାଳ ଏବଂ ସାମାଜିକ ସମ୍ପାଦନା ଶିବ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ପ୍ରଦତ୍ତ ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ତର ବୁଦ୍ଧରେ ସାମାଜିକ କଳା ଦେବେ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ପିଣ୍ଡ ଓ ଅନ୍ତର ବୁଝି ଦେଖାଯାଏ । କୌଣସି ଏବଂ ଶିବର ଅନ୍ତର ପ୍ରାଣୀ ଏହାର ସାମାଜିକ ସାଧାରଣତା ଆଧାର ଦେଖାଯାଏ ଅନ୍ତର ପ୍ରଦେଶରୁ କରନ୍ତି । ବିଷ୍ଣୁ ଏହି ବୁଦ୍ଧ ବୁଦ୍ଧ, ସାମାଜିକ ବୁଦ୍ଧ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସହଜ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ପ୍ରଦେଶରେ ସାମାଜିକ କୌଣସି ସହଜୁତୁର ଉପକ୍ରମେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାପନ । ଯଦି ଅନ୍ତରର ଉପାଦାନ ସହଜରେ ଏହି ବୁଦ୍ଧବୁଦ୍ଧ ବୁଦ୍ଧ ପ୍ରାଣୀର ସହଜ ଭାବରେ ସାମାଜିକ ବିଶାଳରେ ଦେବ ଏହି ଉପକ୍ରମେ ସାମାଜିକ ବିଶାଳ ବିଶାଳ ବିଶାଳ ଦେଖାଯାଏ । କୌଣସି ଶିବ ସାମାଜିକ ବିଶାଳ ସାମାଜିକ କଳା ପ୍ରାଣୀର ସାମାଜିକ ମୂଳାକାର ଏବଂ ଏହାର ଏହି ସମ୍ପାଦନା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ନିଜର କରନ୍ତି । ଯଦି ଏହାକୁ ଏବଂ ମଧ୍ୟବୁଦ୍ଧ ବୁଦ୍ଧ ପ୍ରଦେଶ ମାନିଷ୍ଟପାତ୍ର ଦେବେ ଶିବ ବିଶାଳର ପ୍ରାଣୀର ଉପକ୍ରମେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଶ୍ରୁତ ଶ୍ରୁତ ବିଶାଳ ବେଦୁବୁଦ୍ଧ ପ୍ରଦେଶ ପ୍ରାଣୀର ବିଶାଳତା । ଏହି ପରିସ୍ଥିତିରେ କଳା ଶିବ ପ୍ରକାଶରୁ ବିଶାଳ କୌଣସି କଳା ସମ୍ପାଦନା ପ୍ରକାର ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ତର ଅନ୍ତର ଭାବରେ ମିଳିତ ଦେଖାଯାଏ କୌଣସି ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହି ବିଶାଳ ବେଦୁବୁଦ୍ଧ ସମ୍ପାଦନା ସହଜରେ ଉପକ୍ରମରେ ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ଏପରିକି ମୂଳରୁ ଆଧାର ବିଶାଳତାରେ କରନ୍ତି । ମନୋବୈଜ୍ଞାନିକ ସମ୍ପାଦନା ପିଣ୍ଡରେ ଏହି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ପ୍ରଦେଶ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ଏହି ପ୍ରକାରରୁ ଆଦିବାସୀର ସାମାଜିକ ବିଶାଳତା କଳା କୌଣସି ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ତରର ଶିବର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମୂଳାକାର ଉପକ୍ରମ ।

୪୦ । ଉପକ୍ରମର ବିଶେଷତା ଅନ୍ତର ଆଦିବାସୀ ପ୍ରାଣୀର କୌଣସି, ଆଧାର, ସାମାଜିକ ଅନ୍ତର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାରେ ସମ୍ପାଦନା ଧାରଣା ପ୍ରଦେଶକୁ । ଅନ୍ତର କୌଣସି ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅନ୍ତରରେ ଶିବ ବିଶାଳର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ବୁଦ୍ଧରେ ଦେଖାଯାଏ ।

କରିପାରିବୁ । ଏହି ଚକ୍ର, ଯେଉଁ ଚକ୍ରକୁ ପ୍ରୟୋଗର ପରି-
ଯୋଜନା ଦିଆଯିବ ତଦନୁସାରେ ଅଧିକ ବୃଦ୍ଧି ହେବେ ।
ଏହାର ବର୍ଦ୍ଧିତେଜ ଅଭେଦତା ମିଳୁଥିବ ବୋଲି ।

୪୧ । ସ-ପତର ସମାବେଶ—

ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିଦ୍ୟାଭାଷା ଅତିକ୍ଷିପ୍ତ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକାନ୍ତ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି,
ସ୍ଥୂଳ ତଥା ସୂକ୍ଷ୍ମ, ବଳବାନ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି, ଶକ୍ତିର ତଥା ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ
ସ-ପତ୍ର ଉପାଦି ମିଳିତ ହୋଇଗଲି ।

୪୨ । ଛାତ୍ରୀୟ ସମାବେଶ ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ଶିଳ୍ପ—

ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ମିଳୁନିଶିତ ଚକ୍ର ମିଳିତ—

(୧) ବର୍ଣ୍ଣ, ଉପର-ଶାମ

(୨) ବର୍ଣ୍ଣରୂପର ଅବସରରେ ଅବସିତ

(୩) ଶିକ୍ଷାର ଉପ

(୪) ବ୍ୟବସାୟର ବିଭୂତି

(୫) ସମାବେଶ, ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ତଥା ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ସ-ସା
ମାନବର ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ଶିଳ୍ପ ।

୪୩ । ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ ବୌଦ୍ଧର ଉପ—

ଅଦିବାସୀ ସମାବେଶ ସାଧାରଣ ବୌଦ୍ଧର ଉପ ବିଶେଷ
କରି ଏହି ଅନ୍ତରାଳର ଉପ ବୌଦ୍ଧର ଉପାଦାନ ଶେଷ
ପ୍ରତିପାଦନ କରିବେ ସମାବେଶର ଉପ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ
ଅବସରରେ, ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଅନ୍ତରାଳର ଉପ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ
ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ଉପ ବିଶେଷର ସମାବେଶର ଉପ ବୌଦ୍ଧର ଉପ
ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ଅବସରରେ ।

୪୪ । ଛାତ୍ରୀୟ ନୂତନ ଅବସରରେ —ପାଠ-
ପାଠର ଅବସରର ସାମାନ୍ୟ ଏବଂ ଅବସରରେ ନୂତନ ସାମାନ୍ୟ
ପାଠର ବିଷୟ ମିଳୁଥିବ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ମଧ୍ୟରେ
ବେଶା ବେଶାବିତା ନୂତନ ଅବସରରେ ସମାବେଶର ଉପ
ମିଳିତା ଅବସରରେ ।

୪୫ । ଶିଳ୍ପ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଅବସରରେ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ-
ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବୃଦ୍ଧ, ମଧ୍ୟମ, ସ୍ଥୂଳ ତଥା ଶକ୍ତିର ବର୍ଣ୍ଣବାଦ
ହୋଇଗଲି ।

୪୬ । ଅବସରରେ—ସୂକ୍ଷ୍ମ, ଉପରାବେଶ
ବ୍ୟବସାୟ, ବିଶ୍ୱବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଏବଂ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଏହାର
ଅବସରରେ ।

୪୭ । ବର୍ଣ୍ଣବାଦର ଅବସରରେ ଶିଳ୍ପର ସମାବେଶର—

ନୂତନବଦ୍ଧ ଉପାଦାନ ଉପରେ ନୂତନବଦ୍ଧ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣବାଦରେ,
ଅଦିବାସୀ ଅବସରରେ ବିଶିଷ୍ଟବଦ୍ଧର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ

ସମାବେଶର ମିଶ୍ରାବେଶ ହୋଇପାରିବ । ଅତି ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ
ଏହାବେଶ ଶେଷରେ ଅଧିକୃତିତ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିଶେଷ ଅବସର ମଧ୍ୟ
ହୋଇପାରିବ । ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ ବେଶର ଅବସରରେ ଅବସର-
ଧିକୃତିତ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବେଶରାବେଶର ଶେଷ ହୋଇପାରିବ । ଅବସର-
ଏହା ଅତି ବିଶାସରତା ଶେଷରେ ଏହା ପାଠର ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ
ସମାବେଶର ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ଶେଷର ବିଶିଷ୍ଟବଦ୍ଧର ଶେଷ । ଏହା
ଶେଷରେ ଯେଉଁ ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିଶେଷରାବେଶର ଶେଷ
କରିବ, ସେଠାରେ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ ବୃଦ୍ଧ
ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ମିଳିତ । ଏହି ସ-ପତ୍ରରେ ଶିଳ୍ପବେଶରାବେଶ
ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ବେଶର ଉପ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଶେଷ ।
ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକର ମଧ୍ୟରେ ମିଳିତ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ ଶିଳ୍ପ
ପ୍ରାକୃତିକର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଶେଷରେ ଏହା ପ୍ରାକୃତିକର
କରିପାରିବ । ଏହା ପ୍ରାକୃତିକର ମଧ୍ୟରେ ମିଳିତ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ
ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ସମାବେଶର ଶେଷରାବେଶ ଶେଷ ।
ପ୍ରାକୃତିକରେ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଶେଷର ସମାବେଶର ଉପାଦାନ
ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ ଏହି ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ ଏହାର
ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ ।

୪୮ । ଯେଉଁ ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ଅବସରରେ ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ
କରିପାରିବ ସେଠାରେ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଉପାଦାନ ଉପରେ
ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ । ଉପାଦାନ ଏହା ସହିତ ଅବସର
ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପ ବିଶେଷର ସ-ପତ୍ରରେ
ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ । ଯେଉଁ ଶିଳ୍ପବେଶର ଏହି ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ
ବେଶର ଅଧିକ ସମାବେଶର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ, ସେହିପ୍ରାକୃତିକର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ
ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ବ୍ୟବସାୟର ଅବସରରେ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର
ମିଳିତା, ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ବେଶରାବେଶ ଶେଷ । ଯଦି ଏହି
ପ୍ରାକୃତିକର ସମସ୍ତ ସ୍ତରରେ ଅଦିବାସୀ ସମାବେଶର ଶେଷର
ଅଧିକ ଉପ ମିଳିତାରେ ଏହା ସମାବେଶର ଶେଷ, ଏବଂ ନୂତନ
ଉପ ମିଳିତା ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଅଧିକ ବ୍ୟବସାୟର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ,
ସେଠାରେ ବେଶର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଶେଷ । ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ
ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର, ସମାବେଶର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଶେଷରେ
ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର, ପ୍ରାକୃତିକର ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ
ନୂତନ ଅବସରରେ ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ ଏବଂ ନୂତନ ଶିଳ୍ପ
ସମାବେଶର ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ ସ-ପ୍ରାକୃତିକର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ ଶିଳ୍ପ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ
ସହିତ ବ୍ୟବସାୟର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଅତି ମଧ୍ୟବ୍ୟବସାୟ
ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ ।

୪୯ । ପାଠ-ପାଠର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଶିଳ୍ପରାମବର—

ପାଠ-ପାଠର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଅନ୍ତରାଳରେ ଅଧିକ ଉପର ଶ
ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ । ଏହି ଶିଳ୍ପର ଉପର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ
ବିଶେଷ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀ ଅବସରରେ । ଏହି ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର
ପ୍ରାକୃତିକର ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକର ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଶାନ୍ତାବତୀରାମବର ଅବସର ।

ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଏମାନେ ଅଧୁନିକ ଏବଂ ପାତ୍ର-ପାତ୍ରର କାରିଗରୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଯେତେ ଭେଦ ରହିଛି ତାହା ଦର୍ଶାଉଅଛି । ଏହା ଦ୍ଵାରା ଯେତେ ଲୋକ ଗୌରବ ବିବାହ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ପରିବାସିତ ଏବଂ ଅଧୁନିକ ଶିବ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଏହାକୁ ଗମ୍ଭୀର ଭାବ ଦିଆଯାଇଅଛି । ଯଦି ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ପାତ୍ର-ପାତ୍ରର କାରିଗରୀ ପାଇଁ ଯେଉଁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ହୋଇଛି ଏହାର ପ୍ରକୃତି ଓ ରୂପ ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଅସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ-ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟହୋଇନାହିଁ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅନ୍ଧାର ଆସିବା, ସାମାଜିକ ବିଭାଜନ ଏହି ଗୋଟିଏ କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟର ଗୁରୁତ୍ଵ ସହଜରେ ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ କରାଯାଇନାହିଁ । ଏହା ସହିତ ଗର୍ବିତ ସଂପର୍କରେ ଆସିଥିବା କେତେକଗୁଡ଼ିକ ମାନବ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏକ ସାମାଜିକ ଗୁମିରା ରହିଛି । ଯଦି ଏହିସବୁ ସମସ୍ୟାକୁ ଏକ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ଦେଖାଯାଏ ତେବେ, ଏଥିରେ ବ୍ୟାପ୍ତିତର ଅନ୍ତର୍ଯ୍ୟାମ ସମ୍ଭବ ହେବନାହିଁ । ତତ୍ତ୍ଵେତା ପାତ୍ର-ପାତ୍ରର କାରିଗରୀକୁ ଆଦିବାସୀର ସାମାଜିକ ଜିତି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଦୂରତ ଗୁମିରାରେ ସ୍ଵାକାରକରାଯିବ ଏବଂ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ଓ ନୃତ୍ୟ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସମନ୍ୱୟ ହେବ ଶାବରେ ସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ହୋଇଯିବ । ଏହି ଗୁମିରା ପାଇଁ କେବଳ ଆଦିବାସୀର କାରିଗର ଗୋଟିଏ ବାହା ନୁହେଁ । ଯଦି ସମସ୍ତ ଜିତି ସଂପର୍କରେ ଅମେ ଏକ ଅନୁରଣ ଅନୁଶୀଳନ ଚଳୁ ନେବେ ଶାବର ଶବ୍ଦ ଗୌରବ ପାଇଁ ଏହା ଏକ ଦୂରତ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ହେବ ।

୩୦ । ନିମ୍ନତରମ ଆୟୋଗ—

ଏହିସତ୍ତରେ ନିମ୍ନତରମ ଦୂରତ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ଶାବରେ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରଖିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ । ଯଦ୍ୟଦି ନିମ୍ନତରମ ଆୟୋଗର ସମସ୍ତ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟୟ ପାଇଁ ମହତ୍ତ୍ଵପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ବ୍ୟୟ ଶିକ୍ଷାକ୍ରମ ପାଇଁ ଏହାର ମହତ୍ତ୍ଵ ଅଟେ । ପ୍ରଥମେ ଅଧୁନିକ ଶିବ ସବୁଟି, ଶାମର ପାତ୍ର-ପାତ୍ର ଦିଶେଇ ନାହିଁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ପାତ୍ର-ପାତ୍ର ସହ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ନୁହେଁ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ଜିତି ଏପରି ଯେ ଯେକୌଣସି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ହେଉଛି ଏହା ପ୍ରକୃତିଶକ୍ତ ଶେଷର ଅନୁରଣ ଓ ଏହାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମୁତାବକ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟୟର ସ୍ଵାଭାବିକ ହେଉଅଛି । ଅନେକ ପକ୍ଷର ଏପରି ମଧ୍ୟ ଗର୍ବିତାରେ ଯେ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ଓ ଅଧୁନିକ ଅନ୍ଧର ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ସାମାଜିକ ହୋଇପାରୁନାହିଁ । ଅତଏବ ଏହି ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦେଇ ଦିଶି ସମସ୍ତ ପାଇଁ ଶିକ୍ଷାକ୍ରମ ହୋଇ ଗଲେ । ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତରେ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଉତ୍ତରୋତ୍ତର ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ହେବ ।

୩୧ । ଦିଆଯିବା ଶିବବିଭାଗ ଦ୍ଵାରା ଅନ୍ତର୍ଯ୍ୟାମ କରାଯାଇଥିବା ଅଧୁନିକ ଶିବର ଧାରାବାହିକ ରୂପ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ବିଭାଗ ଉପରେ ଅନେକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ଵପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଚଳୁ ଅମେ ପାଉଅଛି । ଯାହାର ନିକଟବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ଅନ୍ଧରେ ଦିଶି ଶାମର କାରିଗରମାନେ ଦିଶି ଦେଖାଯେ ଦୂରତ ଶିବମାନ ଅମେ ରହିଅଛି । ପରିସ୍ଥିତି ଏପରି ଯେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଅବ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରାଯାଇପାରିବେ ସେମାନେ ଅଧିକ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟର ହୋଇପାରିବେ । ଏମାନଙ୍କର

ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମଧ୍ୟ ଦୂରତ ନାହିଁ । ଯେଉଁ କାରିଗର ନିଜ ପାଇଁ କେବଳ ଧରଣର ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ଗୁମିରା ଓ ଯେଉଁ କାରିଗର ନିଜର ବ୍ୟବସାୟକୁ ବଢ଼ାଇବା ପାଇଁ ଅବ ଦିଶି ପୁଣି ଯେ ଦୂରତେ ପଡ଼ିବାକୁ ଚାହୁଁଛି । ସିନ୍ଧୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଏହି ସମସ୍ୟାକୁ ଯଦି ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦିଆଯାଇନାହିଁ । ପୁଣି ଯେହେତୁ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ସଂପର୍କରେ ଏପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଦିଶି ମଧ୍ୟ କରାଯାଇନାହିଁ । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ପରିଚୋଦନ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବ୍ୟବସାୟକୁ ଦିଶେଇ ଶାମ ଦିଆଯାଇଛି । ଯେଉଁ ସମୟରେ ସେମାନେ ଦୂରତ ଶେଷର ଶେଷମାନଙ୍କୁ ବ୍ୟବସାୟର କୃତିତାକୁ ଯେତେବେଳେ ଏହାର ସମାଧାନର ପଥା ନିରୂପଣ କରାଯାଇପାରୁଛି ଓ ଏହାର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମଧ୍ୟ ଅନୁରୂପ ହୋଇ ପଡ଼ିପାରେ । ଯଦି ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ହୋଇଥାଏ ତେବେ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ସହିତ ସେମାନେ ସମସ୍ତ ଅର୍ଥ ମହତ୍ତ୍ଵପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସାମାଜିକତା ସହିତ ଏହି କାରିଗର ଗୋଟିଏ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ମୁତାବକ ହୋଇଥାଏ ନିଜିଆଁ ଯେବେ ଏହା ଅଧିକ ପଡ଼ିବାକୁ ଯାଇ ପଡ଼ିପାରିବ । ଏହି ପରିସ୍ଥିତିରେ ପରିବ୍ରାଜନ ବ୍ୟାପି ମଧ୍ୟ ଉପରୁ ହୋଇପାରିବ ଏବଂ ଅନେକ ଦୂରତ ଶେଷରେ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଦିଶ୍ଵାସ ନେଇ ପ୍ରବେଶ କରିପାରିବ । ଏହି ଶାବରେ ଅମେ ମାନବ ସମସ୍ତ ଆୟୋଗର ଜିତି ଯିବେ ଯିବେ ଅନୁରଣ ହେବ ଏବଂ ଶାବକୁ କେଉଁଠି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମକୁ ଶାମର ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ସହଜ ଶକ୍ତି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ରହିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହି ଶିବର ଯେ ଯେ ବ୍ୟବସାୟରେ ନିଜର ଶିକ୍ଷାବଳୀ ପଡ଼ିବ ଏହା ଅମ ପାଇଁ ଏକ ସାମାଜିକତା । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଶାବରେ ଶାମର ସମାଜର ନୃତ୍ୟ ଦିଶି ଶାବର ଶିବ ଏବଂ ଦିଶିବା ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଆଦୃର୍ଯ୍ୟ ହୋଇପାରିବ ।

୩୨ । ଶିବର ସ୍ଵତନ୍ତ୍ରତା ଉପରେ ଉପଯୋଗ ଅମ ଏକ ବିସ୍ତରଣର ରହିବ । ଉତ୍ତର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ କୃତିତରେ ଏହି କେତେକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ଉପଯୋଗ ପାରିବ । ଯଦି ଏହି ଦୂରତ ଉପରମାନଙ୍କୁ ଉପର କରାଯାଇ ଦିଶି ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ହୋଇଥାଏ ଦିଶିବ ତେବେ ସେମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଅମେ ଉପର ଅନ୍ତର୍ଦିଶ୍ଵାସ ବଦଳିବ ଏବଂ ଦିଶିବ ଦିଶିବ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମର ଉପର ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ମଧ୍ୟ ପାଉଅଛି । ଏହି ସଂକଳନ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଏବେ ଦୂରତେ କରାଯାଇ ପାରିବ ଅତୀତ ସମୟର ଶେଷରେ ଶାବର ଗୌରବ ଦୂରତ ଦିଶି ମଧ୍ୟର ଧରଣର ଶିବ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଅଧିକରେ କରାଯାଇପାରିବ । ଅମେ ପୁଣି ପରିବେଶରେ ଏହି କେତେକ ଶିବ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ସଂପର୍କରେ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଶାବରେ ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହିଅଛି ।

୩୩ । ଶାମର ଶାମାଳ—

ଶିବ ଦିଶିବା ମାନବ ଦିଶିବା ସମୟରେ ଶାମର ଶାମାଳ ଏକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ଵପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଚଳୁ ଦୂରତେ ଅମ ସାମାଜିକ ଅଧି-ଆଏ । ଅଧିକାଂଶ ଶାମାଳ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅନ୍ଧର ଶାମାଳ ଦୂରତେ ଅନ୍ଧାଧିବାସୀ ଅନ୍ଧର ଅଧିଆଏ । ପଦରେ

ଡକ୍ଟାରି ଉର୍ଦ୍ଧ୍ୱ ସେକ୍ସୁଆଲିଟି ଅଫି ଶାସ୍ତ୍ର ବାଣିଜ୍ୟାତା ବରାଦାଏ ଡେଡେ ଏସି ଶେଫେର ଉ-ଉଷ ଶିବ ବିଦ୍ୟା ସମୟ ଡୋଲୋରିସ୍

୫୭ । ଶୈବିକ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନ, ଉତ୍ତରୀୟ ଚୁଷ୍ଟିରେ ଅଧିବାସୀ
ଅଞ୍ଚଳରୁ ମିଳରେ ଦିଗ୍‌ମିତ ଦିଶାରେ ଦିଶେ ଚରାସାରତାରେ—

(୧) ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର :-

(କ) ଏହି ଅନିବାଦୀ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର କେଉଁଠାରେ ଥିବୁତ ?
 ଧରଣର ଶିବ ଅବା ଉଦ୍ଭିଦ ପ୍ରାଣୀମାନ ସାପିତ
 ହେଉଥିବେ ।

(ଝ) ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଯେଉଁଠାରେ ଖି ଉତ୍ପାଦନ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ବୃଦ୍ଧିରେ ବହୁତ ଶିଖି ପୁରୁଷାନ୍ ଉପରେ ଯୋଗଦାନ ଦେବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିଛି ।

(ଖ) ଏପରି ଅନେକ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ରହିଛି ଯେଉଁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ
ମାନବରେ ଓ ଗାଈର ଅସହାୟତା ଅଟେ
କୌଣସି ଅର୍ଥର ଗରି ବୁଝା ବସୁ ଗାବରେ
ପ୍ରଭାବିତ ହେଉଛି ।

ଭିତ୍ତିଭିତ୍ତି ଗୁଣ-ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧ-ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧ ଗୁଣିତମ୍ଭ ।

[illegible]

(କ) ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ଶ୍ରେଣୀ :-

ଏହି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ (କ) ଘନୀଭୂତ ଆକୃତି (ଖ) ସମ୍ପୃକ୍ତ ଆକୃତି ଆର୍ଯ୍ୟତା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରର ସମୀପରେ ରହିପାରିବ ।

(୪) ସମ ସେତୁ :—ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଉପରୋକ୍ତସେତୁ ବାବଦ ଅର୍ଥାଂଶରୁ ପୂର୍ବରୁ ମଧ୍ୟ ବୃଦ୍ଧି ହୋଇଛି । ସମସ୍ତ ଏହି ସମସ୍ତ ଶ୍ରେଣୀ ସଂପର୍କରେ ପୂର୍ବରୁ ଭାବରେ ଆଲୋଚନା କରିପାରୁ ।

47 | ପିତୃତାପ ସମ୍ମାନ

[illegible]

୧୮ । ଅଗ୍ନି-୧୭୦

[illegible]

୩୦ । ଲୋକାଳୋଚିତ ଭାବରେ ଏହି ଅବିବାହୀ ସମାଜକୁ ଅନୁଗତ ଅନୁଗତ ବୁଝାଇବାକୁ ଚାହେଁ । ଏହାରେ ସାକ୍ଷର ସଂଖ୍ୟା ଚଳକା ୫ ଲକ୍ଷ ଏହି ଯୋଜନା ଅର୍ଥାତ ବିବାହ ଭାବିକମ୍ପର ଅତି ସାବଧାନତାରେ ସହ ବିସ୍ତର କରିବାକୁ ହେବ ଏବଂ ଏହାର ପରିଚାଳନାରେ ଉଚିତ ଅନିୟମାବଳୀ ତୀବ୍ର ନ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଗୁରୁତ୍ୱ ଦିଆଯିବ । ଯେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଅତି ଅସୁବିଧାଜନକ ଯୋଜନା ନ ଆସିବି ସେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଏହି ଅନୁଗତ ନିକଟ କରିବାରେ ଶିବାଜୀବ ଚଳି କରିବାରେ ସମାଜର ମଧ୍ୟ ଉପାଦାନ ଅନୁଗତ । ଯଦି କୌଣସି ବିଚାରଣ କାରକକୁ ଏହାରେ ଶିବ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା ଅନୁଗତ ବୁଝ, ତେବେ ଏହି ସଂପର୍କରେ ଉପନୟନରେ ଅନୁଗତର ଦେହର ଅନୁଗତର ଚଳିବି ।

১২। ক-৩৭৭ ৬৪০

[illegible][illegible]

ହୋଇଯାଏ । ଆମ ପ୍ରଜନମୁକ୍ତି ଦେଖି ଯାଉଛି ଯେ ଏହି ବୃହତ୍ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରସ୍ଥିତ ଅଭିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ଦାସତ୍ବର ଚକ୍ର ଲୁହେଁ ଏସିପାଇଁ ଉପିବା ଅନେକସ୍ଥିତି ବହୁତ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଅଭିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଶୋଷିତହୋଇ, ତଥାପି ଏହାର ଦାନ ଅଭିବାସୀ ଅର୍ଥଦାତା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପଡ଼ି ଚାଲିଛି ।

୨୫ । ଯୋଗ୍ୟତା ତଥା ଏହାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀତା ପାଇଁ ଦାସତ୍ବର ଦୀର୍ଘ ଏବଂ ସ୍ଥାୟୀ ଚିତ୍ତି ବିଶଦ୍ଧତା ଦାନର ସାବଧାନ ଯୋଜନାସିଦ୍ଧି ଦିନକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମର ମୁଖ୍ୟତ୍ବ । ଅଭିବାସୀ ସମାଜର ପ୍ରଚଳନ ଉପାଦାନ ନୀତି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ ବିସ୍ତୃତି, ଯେଉଁ ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ ନିୟମସ୍ଥିତିର ସାଧାରଣ ଦେଖାଦେଖାରେ ଆଧାରପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଭାବରେ ଏହା ଗଠିତପିଆଏ । ଏହିଭାବରେ ଅଭିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ-ମାନଙ୍କରେ ଗୁଣ ସହ ବିପଜ୍ଜନ ବଂଶୀ, ବଦାୟ ଦାସତ୍ବ ପରି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରୁଛି । ଏହି ବଂଶୀ ପ୍ରଶାସନିକ ବଂଶୀପାତ୍ର ସ୍ବତନ୍ତ୍ର । ତଥାପି ମଧ୍ୟ ପୁର ବଂଶୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପରିଷ୍ଟ ବଂ-ପର୍ବ ରହିଥାନ୍ତି । ଏହି ପୁର ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ଏକାକୀ ଅଭିବାସୀ ବିକାଶ ପରିଯୋଗ୍ୟ ଶେଷରେ ବିବାହ ପାଇଁ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନେବାକୁ ଏହା ଏକ ସଙ୍ଗଠନୀୟତା ପୁର । ଏଥିରେ ଦୈନିକ ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନେବା ଉପାରେ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ଦାସତ୍ବ ମଧ୍ୟ ଦେଖାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହି ଆୟୋଜନ ସଂପର୍କିତ ବିଶେଷ ଜ୍ଞାନର ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ରହିଛି । ପେସିନିକ ଦାସତ୍ବ-ମୁକ୍ତର ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ଚିତ୍ତି ଦେଖିବା ଉପରବର୍ତ୍ତକ ଗଣ-ସହ-ବିପଜ୍ଜନ ବଂଶୀ ସର୍ବାପେକ୍ଷା ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ତଥା ପୁରରେ ବିବେଚିତ ହେଉଥିବ । ଏପାଇଁ ଏହା ଉପେକ୍ଷାଯାଇ ଯେ ଏହି ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ଅଭିବାସୀର ଶୋଷ ଶୋଷ ଅବଶ୍ୟକତାକୁ ସିଧାସଳଖ ପୁରଣ କରିବାରେ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରେ, ଏବଂ ବିଶ୍ବାସୀତାରେ ହୋଇପାରିବ ଯଦି ଏହାକୁ ନୂତନ ଶିବ ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗରେ ଉପଯୋଗ ଦେଲାଯିବ ତେବେ ଏହା ସର୍ବାପେକ୍ଷା ନିରାପତ୍ତି ହୋଇପାରିବ ।

୨୬ । ବିକାଶର ନୂତନ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟରେ ଗଣ-ସହ-ବିପଜ୍ଜନ ଲଘୁ ଦରମାଦ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ ସଂଗ୍ରହର ଦାୟିତ୍ବ ନେବ । ତେବେ ଯାଣି ଏହି ସଙ୍ଗଠନ କ୍ଷମାମାନଙ୍କୁ ଉତ୍କୃଷ୍ଟ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ ସ୍ବସ୍ବତ ଉପିବାରେ ଉତ୍ତମ ହୋଇପାରିବ । ଅଭିବାସୀର ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା ଅନୁସୂଚି ଏହା ଗଠିତପିବ । ଏଥି ଉପାରେ ଶିବ ସାପନର ସ୍ଥାନ

ନିଶ୍ଚୟ, ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନର ଚିତ୍ତିର ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟ ଅଭିବୃଦ୍ଧି ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧିତ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ । ଅତି ଅନୁର ପଞ୍ଜୁଆ ଶ୍ରେଣୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଏହି ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ବିନାଦୁରରେ ଦାସି ଅଭ୍ୟାସ କରିବା ଅତି ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ତଥା । ଏହି ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ମଧ୍ୟକୁ ବଡ଼ ବଡ଼ ସତରରେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ ହେବାର ପ୍ରବର୍ତ୍ତି ମଧ୍ୟ ଆଗେ ଆଗେ ହେବ ହୋଇପାରିବ ।

୨୭ । କ୍ଷମାମାନଙ୍କୁ ଉତ୍କୃଷ୍ଟ ଦରମାଦା ପଦାର୍ଥ ଦିଆଯିବ କରିବାଦ ଦାସତ୍ବ ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ମୁଖ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାନ ପାଇବା ଉଚିତ । ସ୍ବୟଂ ଉତ୍ପାଦନ ପାଇଁ ଏହି ଦାସତ୍ବ ଅନ୍ୟତମ ଉପକରଣ । ଏହି ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ଅଭିବାସୀର ସାଧାରଣ ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା ପୁରଣର ଦାୟିତ୍ବ ନେବ । ଏଥି ପାଇଁ ଛୋଟ ଛୋଟ ଶିବ ମଧ୍ୟ ଆଗର ଦେଖାଯାଇପାରେ । ଏହାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀତା, ଅତି ସ୍ବଳ୍ପ ଭାବରେ ପୁରଣର ନିୟାମିତପଣ । ଏସିପାଇଁ କେତେକ ସଂସ୍ଥାବଳୀ ଦାସତ୍ବ ଶୋଷାୟନପାରିବ । ପୁର ପ୍ରଶ୍ନର ଦିବାଦ ପ୍ରତି ମଧ୍ୟ ଅଭ୍ୟାସ ଶାବରେ ଉପାଦାନପାରିବ ।

୨୮ । ଯେଉଁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ-ଉପ ଦେଖାଇ ଶିବ ବିବାହ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ, ତାହା ସଙ୍ଗଠନୀୟତା ଦାସତ୍ବର ଅଭ୍ୟାସ ଶାବରେ ଦିଶିବ କରିବାକୁ ହେବ । ଯଦି ଏହା ଯଦି ପ୍ରକ୍ଷେପ ନୂତନ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ଗଣ-ସହ-ବିପଜ୍ଜନ ବଂଶୀର ଅଭିଳାଷ ଥିବ, ତେବେ ସ୍ବତନ୍ତ୍ର ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ଭାବରେ ଏହା ଗଠିତହୋଇ ପାରିବେ, ଏହା ଅଭିଳାଷ ଉପରବର୍ତ୍ତକ ହେବ । ପ୍ରାୟତଃ ବଂଶୀର ଅଙ୍ଗ ବା ପରିବ ହେବ ଦୃଢ଼ତା ଏହା ଅପାୟରେ ସହଜରେ ହୋଇପାରିବ ଏବଂ ସ୍ବତନ୍ତ୍ର ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ ପୁରରେ ଶିବ ବିବାହ ପରିଯୋଗ୍ୟ ଦେଖାଯାଏ ପାଇଁ ବିଶେଷ ଜ୍ଞାନ ଯୋଗାଇ ଦିଆଯିବ । ଯଦି ଯାଣି ଶିବ ସାପନ କରିବାକୁ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ଆସେ, ତେବେ ଏସିପାଇଁ ସ୍ବତନ୍ତ୍ର ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ଗଠିବା ଅବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହି ପରିସ୍ଥିତିରେ ବହୁତ ଶିବ ବଂଶୀର ଶିବତତ୍ବର ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରସଂସ୍ଥା, ଶିବ ବିବାହର ଦାୟିତ୍ବ ନେବ । ଏସିପାଇଁ ଦେଖିବା ଶିବ ବଂଶୀରେ ଏକ ସ୍ବତନ୍ତ୍ର ଗଣ ଉପାଦାନ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ । ଏହା ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଅମ ସାମ୍ୟକୁ ଆଣିପାରିବ । ଏହି ସ୍ବତନ୍ତ୍ର ଗଣ, ପରିଯୋଗ୍ୟ ତଥା ଗଣ-ସହ-ବିପଜ୍ଜନ ବଂଶୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବଂ-ପର୍ବ ଏବଂ ସମତା ଗଣା କରିବାରେ ସହାୟକ ହେବା ଉଚିତ ।

Book Reviews

MURDER AND SUICIDE AMONG THE MUNDA AND ORAN.

By *Shri A. B. SARAN*, National Publishing House, Delhi : 1974 P. P. 256, Rs. 40-00

FALSIFICATION of history is closely associated with the phenomenal spread of American social sciences, particularly psychology, sociology and anthropology, into the third world countries. In the meanwhile, there is spectacular tendency to camouflage the reality by concentrating on values rather than on interests which are the responsible factors in understanding not only the structure of the prevailing social phenomena but also their dynamics. As a consequence much has been said on anomie, normlessness, deviance, disintegration, etc., while it is rare to find a scholarly work from the social scientists, who trail behind the mentors of Michigan, Princeton, Harvard and M. I. T. on existing contradictions and the social forces which lead to certain specific activities like murder, suicide, etc. No surprise, of course.

The essence of the present volume under review is an extension of the same functionalist perspective, travelled directly into the study of murder

and suicide among two Indian tribal communities—Munda and Oran. No wonder, the author has started his arguments from the premises of Durkheim and a few recent prominent conservative American academicians. Sufficient stress is laid on motivations, values and beliefs, while only marginal touching is being made to the socio-economic and political relations existing in the two societies, as a product of history.

Murder and suicide are thought to be the product of the imbalance of conscience, which in turn, produced by inadequate socialization leading to frustration which originates aggression. Well, socialization is supposed to be the base of bourgeois social science which means that there can not be any structural change—only deviant behaviours. Saran has uncritically accepted the dogma as science, for change is the inherent character of each and every society, irrespective of space and time. No doubt, from a short term perspective, for healing the wounds or for correcting the bits of abnormal activities it may be of some help, (though limited) to the system especially police authorities, Judiciary and prison administrators. But so far as knowledge is concerned short sightedness has no place in it.

Again, raw empiricism followed in Saran's study fails to take us beyond a limited extent to the comprehension of the reality. Simple case studies, largely based on the police reports can not fulfil the primary requirements of understanding the 'strains' in the given structure, to which the criminals belong. No scientist would deny the importance of case study as a scientific method. But it would be wrong to assume that the simple case studies alone can explain the 'strains' or the contradictions, which forced the culprit to do the crime.

The style of writing is the same as many other Indian social scientists follow, i. e., while after tabular representation of data there exists repeated description of the source, which only increases the bulk of the book. Further, though Saran has gone beyond the pet correlates like age, sex, marital status, etc. to some reasonable variables, he could not identify the dependent, independent and intervening variables to sharpen the correlation. And here is another set of firm limitations of this enthusiastic enterprise. We would have been benefited if he has taken the trouble of going into the structural problems existing among the concerned tribes and then relate them to the variations in the frequencies of murder and suicide.

However, the book may be of some help for future researchers studying such problems among the tribal communities.

JAYARAM PANDA

RETURN TO THE NAKED NAGAS : AN ANTHROPOLOGISTS VIEW OF NAGALAND

By Christoph Von-Furer-Halmendorf, Vikas Publishing House, Pvt. Ltd., 1976. P. P. 258 Rs. 50.00

As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, Indian tribes have

been the major attraction for the anthropologists at home and abroad. Consequently, our present day libraries are equipped with unimaginable number of volumes of work about the once little known tribal communities. But unfortunately, we have more simple descriptive accounts on the "unique" and exotic customs and traditions of these relatively stable societies, than on their socio-economic and political structures and dynamics. Being subservient to the British social anthropology, the tribal ethnological works in India have primarily focussed on the theories of "static equilibrium" and "cultural lag" and thus remained conservative and stereotyped. Even in 1970s, functionalism is the reigning approach to the tribal studies.

Needless to say that guided by the assumptions of functionalism, the tribal studies have only attempted to rationalize the internal coherence of the structured populace through a consideration both of its units and of their activities. With respect to change, the studies have assumed that it is a gradual and cumulative process of adjustment to new situations—largely products of diffusion. This nominalistic, mechanistic and a Historical conception of social reality is bound with incrementalism, and thereby, fails to grasp the fundamental contradictions in the society that are responsible for socio-cultural change. In short, notwithstanding the massive literature on India tribes, we are no where near a precise model or even a concrete analysis of social change in the tribal societies.

From an eminent anthropologist like Furer-Halmendorf who had the opportunity to study the Konyak Nagas at two different periods of time—1936-1937 and 1970—one could naturally

anticipate an adequate analysis of the socio-cultural change witnessed by the tribe, whose population has created sufficient curiosity for about 20 years due to their consistent struggle to establish a sovereign Naga State to safeguard their nationality and common interest. But the author has consciously avoided the issue, and asked the readers to construct their independent judgements from the last chapter of the book, which nevertheless reflects only fragmentary points on the political events shaping the region and the society.

Though many people in this country know how it is difficult to get a permission to stay for a few days in Nagaland, Furer Haimendorf's account provides a broader testimony to it, for he was known to no less a person like B. K. Nehru the then Governor of Nagaland.

Be that aside, the book costing Rs. 50 has only two new chapters to its bulk over the author's previous book entitled, *The Naked Nagas* (1936). Again out of the two chapters, one deals not with the konyaks but with the Wanchus, whom the author observes "hardly distinguishable from some of the communities" which he had studied in 1936-37. The reviewer cannot understand why this too descriptive and vague chapter is included, without having any implication on the main purpose of studying the change the Konyak. Anyway, whatever the importance the book carries it rests simply in one chapter out of the total 27 chapters.

Here too is the same diffusionism explaining social change. The sour-

ces of change are said to be the impact of Christianity, English education, extension of Indian administration and politics, and enormous central assistance for communication and the like. So we are told that new townships with barracks, office buildings, shops and bungalows, have developed; increasing number of people have gone for English education; jeepable roads are extended and so on. More than these, there are frequent references on the gradual accumulation of the "foreign" cultural traits in dress, ornament, music, drink, cemetery and so on in the traditional Konyak cultural milieu.

At the same time the author points out the continuation of the slash—and burn cultivation without any improvement of technology, and the power of chiefs to get free labour from his subject and tributes from the dependent villages. But he has not gone far to investigate in any detail the changes in the socio-economic and political structure of the society occurred over a period of 34 years. Instead, to our great disappointment merely confined to the changes in the religious beliefs and practices and "political outlook".

However, irrespective of the methodological, theoretical and ideological limitations, the chapter on change implicitly remarks that the external forces, by themselves, cannot bring any radical transformation in the socio-economic life of the people. This is indeed commendable. We may add here that the internal differentiation with multiple contradictions, class formation and conflicts can only bring qualitative changes in the system and not in simple borrowing of cultural traits.

MANU BHASKAR

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